

THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NO. 68-VOL. III, NO. 16.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

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OPENING THE FIGHT.

The great struggle on the tariff question—in reality the first engagement on that supreme labor question on which in one form or another our politics are now for the future to turn—was formally opened in the house on Tuesday.

The high honor of beginning the debate on the side of freedom has devolved on Mr. Mills of Texas, chairman of the committee of ways and means. He has proved himself worthy of the occasion and the cause. The democratic party are to be congratulated on having at last found a leader in the house who knows what democratic principle is and is not afraid to avow it. There is in his speech no wavering note, no uncertain sound. From beginning to end there is in it no word of apology for proposing reductions of protective duties, no weakening protest that he and his party are just as much devoted to the "protection of American industry" as any one else. On the contrary, it rings with the clear and emphatic denial that the laborer can be enriched by taxing him; the aggressive assertion that protection is a robbery and a fraud. Confessing that the bill that he has introduced and that is the nominal subject of debate is not but a moderate and initiatory measure, Mr. Mills did not waste his time in advocating tariff reform, but went at once to the heart of the real question at issue in an out and out avowal of free trade principles. Showing how one tax after another that bore on the wealthy had been abolished, he demanded that a beginning should be made in abolishing the taxes that the rich have imposed on the poor; the taxes that have been levied for the direct purpose of enabling a favored few to grow wealthy by levying tribute on the many—the taxes that have strangled commerce, repressed industry, fostered corruption and built up robbing trusts and combinations. He attacked the protective system from base—denied that it could foster industry; denied that it could raise wages; denied that it could benefit any person or anything save monopolists and trusts, and laughed to scorn the idea that the industries of a great nation of over 65,000,000 of the most active and industrious people on earth could be injured if the last shred of a duty of any kind were abolished and trade between us and all the world were made as free as is the trade between our several states. "Not more than ten per cent of the goods consumed in the United States would be imported if all the custom houses were torn down and the government was supported by direct taxes," said Mr. Mills. He struck the key note for the coming campaign.

No wonder, as the newspapers say, that the eyes of Judge Kelley flashed as the words of the manly Texan rang out in defiance of his cherished fetish. The "Father of the House," for such at last the passing years and the grateful recognition of his faithful services by the coal barons and iron lords of his monopoly ridden state have made him—saw the beginning of one great epoch in American history—that which accomplished the destruction of chattel slavery. He now, though he probably hardly fully realizes it, sees and takes part in another great historic occasion—the opening of the struggle for the abolition of industrial slavery.

In all the years that he has served his fetish of protection on the floor of the house, under the delusion that he was serving American industry—for the old man is doubtless as honest in his superstition as was ever the worshiper of any grinning idol—he has never heard such defiance of protection and all its works from any democratic leader. Time and time again he has hurled what he has considered the damning epithet, "free trader," but only to have the men at whom he hurled it deny that they were free traders and protest that they were not free traders at all, but only tariff reformers. Now at last the free traders have come! Now at last a democratic leader, having the confidence of a democratic president and the support of his party organization, gets up on the floor of the house and declares that protection from first to last is a robbery of the nation and a swindle of the workingman,

and boldly asserts that American industry could live and be more prosperous if every tax on commerce were abolished and our national revenues raised by direct taxes which would fall on men not in proportion to their needs but in proportion to their wealth.

Mr. Kelley, for his opening of the debate, also deserves our thanks, for he did his part toward making it not one of details, but one of principle. He did not yield an inch or admit that one single duty needed the slightest reduction. He advanced the claims of protection in all their grotesque absurdity. He not only declared for maintaining all the customs taxes that now burden our people, but for putting on more. And he said some good and true things about the stupidity and demoralizing influence of our internal revenue taxation, and the absurdity and injustice of our monetary system and our treatment of the national debt. This will have good influence when the time for attacking the currency question and the internal revenue shall come. In the meantime, he has helped toward making what is now the main issue clear. Mr. Kelley, too, struck the key note from his side. His attitude in defense of protection will be and must be that of all protectionists. They see clearly enough that what the democratic party under the leadership of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Mills is getting into line against, is not the war tariff, but the protective tariff. And as certain as the buds now swelling will ere long burst into leaf, so certain is it that this fight against the protective tariff must finally pass into an attack on all tariffs.

The great struggle is now on—the issue is made and the discussion begun. The congressional debate will be a long one, and a bitter one, for the democrats must follow their leader, and will get more and more radical as the contest goes on. But the congressional debate is of small importance as compared to the popular discussion to which it will lead in every nook and corner of the whole country, and which will increase in intensity after the nominations are made and the national campaign begins. It is now certain that at last we are to have a national campaign in which living questions are to be discussed. My first opinion was right. It is through the tariff question that the labor question has entered national politics. And for a single six months there will be in this campaign great work to do.

We of the north have much to thank the southern men in the house for. As Mr. Mills of Texas is leading the fight against protection, so did Mr. Oates of Alabama lead the men who successfully fought off, for the present, the treasury raiding bill which proposed to pay back the direct tax to the states. It is not merely that the attention of the country has been called, as it would not otherwise have been called, to the protectionist proposition to get rid of the surplus, but attention has been called to the direct tax levied on real estate by the national government at the beginning of the war through the various states. This was the best and most economical tax ever levied by the general government, and that it was levied disposes of the only popular defense for any tariff at all—that the national government must have some way of raising revenue. As was long ago shown by Abraham L. Earle, one of the few real free traders among the half hearted tariff reformers who for some years have been masquerading as free traders, all the revenue needed by the general government can be raised, at a tithe of the cost to the people of the present system, through the constitutional provision empowering congress to levy direct taxes through the states. When the protective superstition is dispelled, when it ceases to be believed that a people can become rich by taxing themselves, the way will be open to abolish all indirect taxes, and to make the taxation needed for the federal government fall, through the medium of the states, upon land alone. The discussions of the coming campaign must inevitably tend in this direction. No one can expose the injustice and waste of a protective tariff without at the same time condemning a revenue tariff and, in fact, all indirect taxation.

Henry Abram, who styles himself "the cobbler of Savannah and genius of the national finances," desires, through THE STANDARD (which, it is to be feared, he never reads), to announce to the voters of the United States that he is a candidate for president. His platform is the payment of the national debt with non-interest bearing greenbacks. This, he says, would make money so plenty that "a telegraph, railroad and real estate would go up with a bound." The surplus he proposes to use for education, so that "no man will open his mouth against the tariff that educates his children by a tax on the people of foreign lands." Mr. Abram, having determined to run for president, is in need of a candidate for vice-president, which is all he seems to think he requires. If the right kind of a man will pledge to Mr. Abram his hearty support, the candidate for president promises to nominate him for vice-president, and, by way of making this offer more glittering, adds that as he himself will be eighty years old on the 5th of No-

vember, whoever accepts this offer is likely to become president before the term is out.

Mr. Abram, it will be noticed, is quite willing to ignore the tariff—in fact, he proposes to so fix things that no man will open his mouth against the tariff. And for the consideration of those who wish to run a presidential candidate in this election on the basis of ignoring the tariff question, it may be safely said that Mr. Abram, if he gets an associate for vice-president, will cut as much of a figure in the contest as any other tariff ignoring candi-

date. The one measure that will do more than any other to purify our politics—to lessen the power of the political machines, to break the rule of the bosses and "dealers," to permit the running of independent candidates, and to end bribery and intimidation, is the adoption of the Australian system of voting. The agitation of this reform, which was begun by the united labor party last year, has developed such a strong public sentiment in its favor that it has seemed likely that the election reform bill embodying the principles of the Australian system, which has been matured by the assembly committee, would quietly pass both houses of the New York legislature this session, and, as Governor Hill would hardly dare to veto it, become law—especially as, to minimize the hostility of both sets of machine politicians, the bill provides that the new system shall not go into effect this year. But the vote last week on the proposition to advance the measure in the assembly brought out a almost solid democratic opposition—our five democrats, William Dalton and Jose Blumenthal of New York, Fletcher Deford of Monroe, John H. Bagley, J. Greene, and Thos. F. Mager of King voting in the affirmative. This action credited to the intrigue and influence of Governor Hill, who wants to prevent the bill reaching him.

Governor Hill is notoriously a machi-
politician of the worst kind, and large through his running of the democratic party there, his county of Chemung has become one of the most corrupt in the whole state—votes being bought and sold to an extent and with an openness that not paralleled in the worst wards of New York city. On the morning of last election day the market for votes opened Elmira, Governor Hill's town—at 8 a.m., and when sunset came it is said that the ground about the polling place was strewn with broken envelopes in which votes had received their purchase. Some very ugly facts are coming out with regard to the relations of Governor Hill to aqueduct contractors and to the enormous scheme of public plunder which was only frustrated by Chamberlain Ivis production of the Squire-Flynn letter, and the consequent removal of the big head commissioner of public works, if there were nothing else against him, opposition on his part to the reform of the corrupt system of voting ought to make it a duty and pleasure for all friends of reform to do their utmost to beat him. He should get the democratic nomination for governor, which he is now said to be striving for since his presidential bid has collapsed. In the mean time trials of the Australian system ought to lead opportunity to let their representatives know that they deem this a more appropriate issue between them in the coming state election. Mr. Se, who has the bill in charge, does not pair of its passage, but it is evident that it is to get through at this session it must be strong pressure of popular support.

In all this may be seen the great cause which underlies the popular disposition to protection and gives to its transparent falacies their strength. Shut out from the use of natural opportunities, able only to go to work by securing permission from some other human creature, the mere laborer becomes entirely helpless, and as he can only live and only work by securing permission of some one else, he learns to look upon work itself as a boon, and to desire to lessen the number of those who work, in order that he may have more of it. Yet it is perfectly manifest that if convicts are to be supported in idleness, or that their labor is to be made less productive than it might be, it must be at the expense of honest men. It would only be carrying such propositions one step further to provide not only that convicts should be supported in idleness, but that they should be supported in the most lavish luxury, in order that by their consumption they might create more demand for labor outside prison walls. Yet it is almost useless to point out to men who suffer from want of employment the essential injustice and absurdity of such propositions, without also pointing out to them what it is that causes the scarcity of employment. To this, as the contest waxes warm, the opponents of the protective system must finally be driven. They will be compelled to show what is the cause of that scarcity of opportunities for employment that all through the civilized world makes work itself seem a boon. And when they attempt to do this they will be driven to the only explanation—the denial of labor of all right to the use of land. And thus must the opposition to protection pass naturally into advocacy of the single tax.

Representative Albert R. Anderson Iowa has taken a practical step in that direction by introducing a bill in these which, besides aiming at getting some of the money which was stolen from the people of the United States he managers of the Union Pacific rail and its branches, proposes to pay off first mortgage bonds of that corporation and to take possession of the road by foreclosure of the government's mortgage. It further provides that the road shall be maintained and operated as a public highway, open to any lawful freight upon the payment of uniform regulated tolls for the use of the same, and for the periodical letting as privilege of running passenger as the award to be made to the bidder, binding himself to pay a stipulated

for the use of the road, shall agree to carry passengers at the lowest rates. The passage of this bill would bring into practical operation the plan advocated in what is doubtless the most careful study of the railroad question from the standpoint of the people yet made, Mr. Hudson's "Railroads of the Republic," and would secure the prevention of discrimination and something like a full utilization of the advantages of the railroad for the benefit of the whole people, with the least possible addition of the functions of government. Mr. Anderson's bill will be fought by the combined power of the Pacific roads, if not by the whole railroad interest of the country, and it is hopeless at this session at least to look for its passage. But it ought to have full popular discussion and intimidation. It certainly points out the way to the only solution of the railroad question. Whether we like it or not there can be no escape from the dilemma "either the state must own the railways or the railways will own the state."

Quick upon the heels of the great Burton strike comes the lockout of the pool brewers against the labor associations of their employees. That in this organized labor can fare no better than it has at other recent great strikes is proved by the crowds that gathered around the employment offices opened by the brewers in New York a few days previous to the lockout. Organized labor can, within certain limits, and to a certain extent fight, unorganized capital. But capital can organize more readily and more powerfully than labor; and when the fight is between organized capital and organized labor, labor must succumb. Hard facts are every day making it clearer that the true path for the emancipation of labor is not by way of restriction nor protection in any of its forms, but by the way of freedom. The danger to labor organizations and to all efforts to keep up wages by combination lies in the mass of unemployed labor. Work must be opened for men now unemployed before even the employed laborer can claim what is rightfully his. This can only be done by doing away with restrictions and by opening the source of all employment—the land.

Mr. O'Neill of Missouri has introduced in the house a bill for prohibiting all carrying between the various states of articles produced by convict labor, and a large meeting under the auspices of what is known as the Interstate association was held in New York last week in support of it, which was addressed by District Attorney Ridgeway of Kings, General James R. O'Brien of this city, ex-Senator Grady and others. The speakers were a unit in favoring restrictions upon convict labor. Some advocated employing convicts in manufacturing by hand what outside of prison walls is manufactured by machinery. Some advocated allowing them to do only enough work to feed, clothe and shelter them, while others advocated the supporting of them without letting them do any productive work at all.

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The logic of facts is steadily forcing public opinion to the conclusion that great iron highways which have been necessary to the industry and life of people cannot safely be left in the hands of private corporations. The rails have already found a way to "beneath discrimination clauses of the state law by "under bidding," a dodge which they have been accustomed to at their own pools—that is charging thievish customer for less or different fat than they really carry for him. And recent threatened suspension of rail traffic by a general strike has so convinced even the Evening Post that the government has really something to do in railroading that it is advocating a previous scheme, fanned by Simon Se, for putting all railroad employees or military discipline—a scheme for which advocates might get some consideration if they could roll the world back to the twentieth century.

The Philadelphia judges sitting as a license court under the new liquor law are reducing the number of saloons in that city with great vigor. In sixteen wards where there are at present 3,134 liquor saloons of various kinds there will be, when the new law takes effect, but 736. The immediate results of this great reduction in the number of drinking places cannot fail to be good, though it is possible that some bad secondary effects may subsequently be discovered to

diminish the net benefit. But the striking thing about this matter is that there has been, on the part of the general public at least, no talk of confiscation and no demand that the liquor dealers should be compensated. These men have expended large sums in buying or fitting up their saloons, and many of them have taken long leases at high rents. The business in which they thus invested their money was at the time as fully recognized by law as is the investment of money in land titles. Yet the value of their investments is at one stroke utterly destroyed without a word of protest from those who declare that to increase taxation on land values so as to take for the benefit of the community that value which the growth of the community creates would be robbery and spoliation.

HENRY GEORGE.

The world moves. It surely does. Galileo said so more than two hundred and fifty years ago; and even the Evening Post acknowledges it now. The Post is going to turn over a new leaf, not all at once, but "by degraduals," the way the nigger wanted to tumble down the well. It will continue, in its daily edition, to defend those pro-poverty dogmas which it must defend or lose its bankers' advertisements and its circulation among the best people. But it is going to issue a weekly edition for popular consumption at \$1 a year, which it promises shall be devoted to the following objects among others:

To relieve the great body of the people from needless burdens on the necessities of life and on the materials and tools of industry.

To remove artificial obstructions to the growth of our manufactures, which restrict them to the home market and shut them out from the markets of the world.

To remove the causes of social discontent by giving to every man the whole of his earnings, instead of taxing one class to insure profits for another.

To increase the national wealth by leaving capital and labor free to seek their highest reward.

We congratulate the single tax cause on the accession of a new and able advocate. And we shall watch with interest the spectacle of the Post offering sacrifice to truth once a week and bowing down before the altar of Rimmon daily at 5 p.m.

The city of Brooklyn proposes to sell nearly a thousand building lots, now the most promising parts of the city. If these lots were leased instead of being sold, do not the city fathers believe that the next generation would bless them if by any possible private land ownership as it now exists should continue so long? New York sold her common lands fifty odd years ago, just as Brooklyn proposes to do. If New York had not done so she would to-day, from the rents of those lands, be an untaxed city.

The opening of the great political contest over the tariff question brings back into journalism one of the ablest and most vigorous writers of the United States—Donn Platt of Mac-o-cheek. Colonel Platt has removed to New York to assume the editorship of a new magazine, the first number of which is to be issued by Bedford Clarke & Co. of New York and Chicago early in the coming month, and is to begin with an edition of 100,000 copies. It will differ from all existing magazines in having a definite political policy, and while purely literary features will not be neglected, its strength will be devoted in Colonel Platt's hands to vigorous advocacy, not of mere revenue reform, but of out and out free trade. It cannot fail to prove a most efficient instrument in the great work of breaking down the protection superstition. Like many of the active men who are now beginning to rally around Cleveland's free trade policy, Donn Platt was an early and ardent republican. The truth is that in the heat of the campaign now coming on, what is left of the old political distinctions will be melted away. The two parties that will really confront each other on election day will, no matter what their platforms may say, be the party of protection and the party of free trade.

THE MORALS OF THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Mr. Pentecost Declares that Interference With Commerce is Irreligious—His Views Regarding Copyright.

The subject of Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost's address Sunday morning, in Masonic temple, was "The Morals of the Tariff Question." As usual, he had a large audience, and his utterances drew forth loud and frequent applause.

There is more in the tariff question than superficial thinkers suppose. Mr. Pentecost said. To some persons social salvation seems to depend upon the abolition of all protective tariffs. Arguments of revenue reformers must be ineffectual, for in England, a so-called free trade country, workingmen are impoverished, and in Germany, where protection flourishes, the people suffer misery. If therefore follows that if men are poor under this kind of free trade as well as under protection, there must be some underlying evil. Social and political doctors content themselves with feeling the pulse and examining the tongue of the body politic, without looking for any organic trouble. The heart is diseased, for the masses are under the stress of poverty.

The underlying evil is the appropriation by individuals of the bounties of nature, and the condition of labor is not appreciable until an equitable distribution of those bounties takes place. All great public questions, the speaker said were religious questions; and he announced that he was a free trader and believed that it was irreligious to restrict the free play of commerce, and manifestly unjust to favor individuals or corporations at the expense o

other men. This was far-reaching, for it applied to many public franchises now under the control of private corporations or individuals. Electrical forces furnished an example. Was it not monstrous that these commercial advantages should be controlled by a comparatively few individuals? Surely, these individuals could not fairly claim that these forces were brought into being for their special pecuniary benefit.

Being a free trader, Mr. Pentecost said, he was also opposed to patent right and copyright. Inventors who clamor for protection and cannot understand why they should give mankind the free use of their inventions, do not command themselves to men of high thought. Scientists share their discoveries with all mankind, and why should inventors do likewise? As to copyright he was confident that if there was no copyright law there would be less vicious or trash literature. As to the authors, all he knew was that the man who had a book in his hand would write it without any reference to pecuniary gain. Imagine Jesus of Nazareth applying for a copyright of the sermon on the mount, or St. Paul bargaining with publishers about royalty! Every good book must come to birth even at the expense of its parent's life. All our great books had been written under well nigh insuperable difficulties and not for pecuniary gain. The "Iliad," "Odyssey," "Paradise Lost," "Progress and Poverty," and "The Bible," had to be written, and they were written regardless of whether they would or would not bring gain to their authors. They had to come out. If it were true, as the newspapers said, that the great Spurgeon complained because he had received no royalty on the American editions of his sermons, he, the speaker, should think the less of him for it.

In conclusion, Mr. Pentecost, in illustrating how protection, though beneficial to some manufacturers and millionaires, is detrimental to the masses of the people, told of a conversation he had had with a manufacturer—a man who was a ten-millionaire and whose employees had had a reduction in wages of twenty per cent during the last ten years. The millionaire had asked, as a clincher in the argument, what would become of his factories if the tariff should be abolished, to which Mr. Pentecost

WHAT ONE WOMAN HAS DONE.

To many ardent believers in the good results of the restoration of the land to the people, the question which arises oftenest is how they themselves can do something to help forward the grand movement. To those like myself with no special gifts of speech or pen, the discouraging feeling comes that they can do nothing to bring about such tremendous changes in public opinion, as must take place ere their hopes can be attained—an overwhelming sense of the mightiness of the undertaking, and a very distinct conviction of personal insignificance. But after all it was the mouse who freed the lion in the old fable, and I sometimes think that persistent efforts by many workers, each in their own little circle, can accomplish a great deal of good and make more easy the grand work of this new crusade. I have met with so much success myself in my limited sphere of action that I think it might encourage others who are likewise enthusiastic, but distrustful of their powers to aid the cause, to hear of my experience.

Of course it goes without saying that I do all the talking I can on the subject to friends and acquaintances. Even an afternoon call I find can be utilized for dropping a few seeds. A word said sometimes to an anxious mother who is worrying over her boy just starting out to do for himself, and who finds opportunities for making a living scarce, or to a wife who complains of the little time her husband has to spend with her and the children, and wishes he were not so tied to his business, will often result in setting a whole family to thinking.

I think the woman's efficacy for good in this movement can hardly be overestimated, for despite her lack of political and civil equality with men, her influence in home circles is unbounded, and many a man who would resist the arguments of the most brilliant orator, or turn from a work on political economy, will succumb to the method of wife or sisters in putting the economic problem before him. Some quite amusing instances of this have fallen under my observation. One case occurred last summer when I succeeded in interesting a young girl who was visiting me and whose family were very averse to the George movement. She had no sooner returned home than she commenced the work of proselytizing with such success that her brother voted the united labor ticket last fall; the whole family are Georgeites now, and I would not like to say how many friends they in turn have set to thinking. While as for a sweetheart's ability to make a young man, in whom no other mortal could arouse the faintest symptom of interest in the matter, was suddenly eloquent over the wrongs of the disinherited masses, it is a thing calculated to excite astonishment in the mind of the most sanguine crusader. It is rather hard to get girls interested in this matter at first, as they have a sort of idea that politics are not in their line and that political economy is dreadfully dull and dry, but once do so, and they are most enthusiastic workers. If you can get but one woman in a family you may draw a breath of relief and leave her to manage the rest. She will never rest till she converts them all.

But the greatest amount of good can, I think, be done through correspondence. This, too, is a very pleasant way to revive old friendships. If one has not seen a friend for some years or letter writing has lagged between relatives, this crusade makes an easy method to renew old relations. One cannot very well sit down and write a letter on nothing but the commonplaces of home life in such cases, for the reason that there seems no more special call for correspondence in the present than in the past. But it is very simple to write to a friend after any interval of separation, of the new and absorbing interest which has come into your life in your desire to see the abolition of industrial slavery. I find a very good way to begin matters is to inclose a tract from the land and labor library or send a copy of THE STANDARD with some particular article marked to which I wish to draw especial attention, and ask for an opinion on it, telling at the same time my own views on the subject. This is a fruitful source of pleasant correspondence, and I think, leads to even better results than talking, as there is no chance to laugh the matter off or change the conversation, as people are sometimes inclined to do when they are getting the worst of the argument. It also compels your opponents to do some hard thinking if they wish to maintain their position, as a person would hesitate to set down on paper a hastily formed judgment in answer to a frank appeal to their reason, and this thinking on their part is much more important than fine arguments on your own. Mr. Pentecost tells of his conversion to the George theories by his seriously setting to work to refute "Progress and Poverty," and I believe we can help a great many to a like conclusion, if we only get them to honestly trying to show the fallacy in the idea that God made this earth for the use and benefit of all his children, and not for a few only. The greatest obstacles to the attainment of a single tax on land values is a general total lack of knowledge as to the whole movement, or an absolute indifference to the subject, which comes from a sort of notion that the land question only affects farmers; and any one who really wishes to advance the cause, can do somewhat in their immediate circle to enlighten the ignorance on the one hand, and awaken an interest on the other. If they will just think up all the people they know whom they have reason to believe have not heard of our doctrines, or are opposed to them, and as I before said, will attack them with a tract or a STANDARD which fits their particular case they will find as I have done that they will rarely fail to get them started in the right direction.

Aside from the happiness which one derives from the consciousness of helping in however humble a manner or slight a degree in this grandest of all crusades, there is lots of fun in this letter writing besides.

THE TYRANNY THAT GRINDS THE LEHIGH MINERS.

It Can Make or Unmake Villages as Well as Men—Rain That Followed the Strike of 1877.

FREELAND, Pa., April 13.—While interest in the condition of the victims of the recent Lehigh miners' coal strike continues and general attention is being called to their sufferings and appeals made for help, it may be worth while, in order that those not conversant with the situation may be able to thoroughly appreciate the absolute power which the coal operators possess in being permitted to lay exclusive claim to all the vast wealth of anthracite coal with which Providence has so generously filled those hills and valleys, to recall one instance which the public has probably long since forgotten.

When the great strike of the brotherhood of locomotive engineers was inaugurated in 1877, the town of Tamaqua was a thriving one. It was a central point in the Reading railroad system, had a population of about ten or twelve thousand, and was surrounded for a radius of from eight to ten miles with smaller villages that at eight years went up would have grown toward it until all would have been joined together in one great city. The Middle and Schuylkill anthracite coal fields would then have had a central point from which merchants could procure goods cheaper than they now can; manufacturing industries would have started into life, and, instead of being, as it is now, almost a wilderness, it might have been, and undoubtedly was intended by nature to be, a mart at which much labor could find employment.

The hills and valleys in and around Tamaqua contain the richest deposits of anthracite coal in the world. The veins double and treble themselves until, in some instances, they reach a thickness of 120 feet of pure coal, and these beds are practically inexhaustible. When the Reading railroad company, through its president, Mr. F. B. Gowen, conceived the idea of purchasing all the Schuylkill valley coal mines, with the avowed purpose of "squeezing out" all the individual operators and securing a monopoly of the coal as well as the carrying business, Tamaqua and the whole vicinity were caught in the net. When the brotherhood strike and the trouble with the miners began, Mr. Gowen, seeing the men making a very determined stand, made his famous threat that if the trouble continued he would withdraw his favor from Tamaqua and make the town such a wilderness that the "goats would eat grass in the village streets." The men had the hardihood to continue the struggle, and Mr. Gowen almost literally made good his threat. The large rolling mills and furnace then in full blast have since lain idle, and hundreds of stalwart men have been compelled to go elsewhere to work. I was through that country early last March and drove from Tamaqua to Middlebury one bright Sunday morning. Along the road are remains of what were once thriving little towns—Turkey Run, Tuscarora and several others—and the utter desolation which exists there ought to open the eyes of the present sufferers to the evils of land monopoly. I passed what were once summer resorts, fine residences, stone and brick structures, now all gone to decay. The cellar walls have crumbled away; the bottom sills of the houses have rotted. Cows, pigs, chickens, goats and all sorts of domestic animals there make their shelter. Desolation is complete. No man can purchase a foot of the coal lands or farm lands. Coal breakers have been torn down, and mines that would have employed thousands of men and boys are abandoned. The building industry is paralyzed, and manufacturing is not to be thought of.

And all this is because of the law that permits the Reading railroad company to hold that land as their own to the exclusion of all others, and to charge men what they please for it. I look after the pence the pounds will look after themselves, so if we see to it that all the families in our circle of influence are led to see the truth of our principles, and they in turn will increase the diffusion of knowledge by the same means, if they have not the ability to preach publicly the glad tidings, the movement will spread in ever widening circles, and we may safely leave society as a whole to look after itself. I have not a particle of sympathy, I confess, with those who sometimes write to THE STANDARD of the agonies they endure at being called a crank for advocacy of what they know to be the truth. I should be ashamed if I had not the courage of my convictions, and were not able to show that the term crank is much more applicable to those who like to denounce theories as absurd, and people as cranks for believing in them, without themselves taking the trouble to read and study the evidence upon which the theory is based.

This system of fighting the enemy through private letter writing has proved in my own case most successful, and I am sure it would be equally so with any one who would try it. I have at present on hand a correspondent in London, two out west and two south, and whenever I make a new acquaintance who proves to be unfriendly to our principles, I mentally put him or her "on the list" for future missionary work. It is such a simple and glorious remedy we offer for the social evils which afflict mankind that we have but to "keep it before the people" to have it eagerly embraced. If our radius of influence is small, let us but do our work faithfully within it, feeling that with each convert we make we are that much nearer to the coming of the city of God on earth, the reign of the prince of peace.

IDA HIBBARD.

There is no nibbling of pen or looking up to the ceiling for an inspiration, which will suffice to fill the orthodox four pages of note paper. You find you have so much to say, and your thoughts come so fast, that the only difficulty is how to get your bulky epistles in the ordinary envelope, and when the answers come, it is such a satisfaction to find you have made a little headway; that some point is conceded, or the argument in reply so weak, that you feel sure you can reach them next time. I have always on hand four or five correspondents like this with whom I wage this bloody battle with pen and ink, and keep changing to new groups as soon as the object is attained and interest is excited to study and become thoroughly acquainted with the problem and its proposed remedy, or the person becomes really convinced of the truths of our principles. Besides these regular debating letters, I make a point in my ordinary letter writing, whether to man, woman or child, to weave in some little of the land question, and really it is not hard to find appropriate ways to introduce it. All roads lead to Rome, they say, and I find that every letter offers an opportunity to either show some of the injustices in our present treatment of land as private property, or to expatiate on the good times which would come if the single tax were substituted for all others.

For instance, it is very easy to say to a friend who writes she would be delighted to have me come out to California and make her a visit, that I would be charmed to do so, but cannot afford it, owing to the present condition of things which turns the Union and Central Pacific railroad, which should be a public benefit to all the people of the United States, into a scheme for putting immense fortunes into the pockets of a few of our not too scrupulous citizens, by permitting them to absolutely own those public highways, and to put whatever price the traffic will bear upon the unfortunate masses of non-owners. The tract on A Mysterious Disappearance I find very useful with children and young people generally, as without entering into the taxing question as a means of freeing the land to the people it yet shows them very clearly that the disastrous fate of poor Qui Fassett as a temporary member of the crow family is equally applicable to a lawless member of the human family. And by the way, I do not think children are at all to be despised as allies, as they have the faculty of putting various leading questions to their parents and elders and producing in those elder and wiser members of society the humiliating sense of inability to answer the same.

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And all this is because of the law that permits the Reading railroad company to hold that land as their own to the exclusion of all others, and to charge men what they please for it. How long will the ignorance and prejudice of the workers permit this to continue? Cannot they see that just as long as these powers are permitted to remain in the hands of a few men, strikes and boycotts are worse than useless. Tax these lands to their full value and instead of desolation and suffering, oppression and blacklisting, every foot of coal land would be in use; every miner would be employed at the best of wages. There would then be no necessity for strikes—all men would, indeed, be free. W. B. ESTELL.

A SOLID TIMBER SHIP.

A Freight Saving Contrivance Which May Be Intended to Save Customs Duties as Well.

Mr. Leary, the loss of whose great raft last fall caused such a flutter of excitement, is by no means discouraged by the failure of his first experiment. He has figured out that if in any way he can manage to have his raft towed to New York, the men saving of schooner freights and handling will amount to a small fortune in itself, to say nothing of the regular profit on the importation. So, in one way or another, he is determined that the thing shall be done. He is having constructed at Joggins, Nova Scotia, a gigantic ship, 600 feet long, 54 feet wide and 38 feet deep. She will be built of about 25,000 spruce trees and pieces of piling, the sticks averaging thirty-eight feet in length, running up in size from a diameter of six inches at the small end. The ship has no hold, but her hull is a solid mass from keel to deck, rounding fore and aft, as the boss carpenter says, "in regular shipshape."

The vessel will carry six masts, each built twelve feet into the hull and fitted with spring stays and shrouds. She will be square with fore and aft trysails, and will be fitted with windlass, anchors, rudder and full steering gear. The foremast head and Mizzenmast head will be fitted with crow's nests, each supplied with a powerful self-feeding lamp, capable of burning for thirty days, so that in the event of the craft being temporarily abandoned at sea she will give timely warning by night to all approaching vessels. She will carry a crew of twenty men, for whose accommodation a large house is to be erected on the deck. It is intended to employ a powerful steamer to tow her to New York with possibly a smaller steamer to tender, and the builder is confident that the voyage can be accomplished in much shorter time than if the logs were arranged in the form of a raft. The vessel is now more than half completed, and will probably be ready for launching in June.

A correspondent of the New York Herald, who visited Joggins to inspect the new style of vessel, obtained the following information from the contractor in charge:

"There is big money in this business," said Mr. Robertson. "New York wants more piling, and cheaper piling and longer piling than it now gets. Nova Scotia has the article in endless profusion; it is growing there faster than we can carry it away by schooners, even if these small craft could transport the lengths required, which is totally out of the question. I know this much now, if rafts cannot be towed from the Joggins shore to New York, timber ships can be. It is not more power we want, but less surface resistance.

"That's worth \$250 a foot. Fine location that."

"Yes; but I only want to build a factory on it. I don't want to see any big funeral go by. Better wait for one of those Berlin fools to come along."

And the political economist departed to give a lecture on the single tax system, which will put in the public till the land values created by the community.

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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1888.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

The Law of Rent.

New York.—So many of my friends day the correctness of my understanding of the law of rent, without convincing me of error, that I venture to ask you:

(1) Is not economic rent to be described as a natural tax on individual production, arising from the fact that in a progressive community a greater degree of desirability attaches to some portions of the earth's surface than to other portions?

(2) Wealth being produced by the labor of individuals, and it being a physical necessity that this labor must be expended in locations of different degrees of desirability, is it not correct to say that, strictly speaking, individual producers are not entitled to all the wealth they produce, but only to the amount of the same exertion would have produced on land below the margin of desirability?

(3) In the complex processes of civilization capital is used to aid labor, and is it not correct to say that an individual producing 100 on land 10 above the margin of desirability, with the aid of borrowed capital commanding 5 interest? entitled to call "his own, against all the world," \$5—and not 10?

(4) Is not the argument in favor of the single tax founded on the recognition of the fact that, in a progressive community, rent is an inexorable law from which individuals cannot escape; but that it is a law which provides a fund (made up of enforced contributions of individuals) amply sufficient for public expenses? G. W.

(1) Your description is correct. As a greater degree of desirability attaches to some portions of the earth's surface, the owners of these portions are able to compel users to pay a premium for the privilege of producing there. This premium is a tax upon the producer who pays it; but it is a tax for which he receives an equivalent in the permission to work in a more desirable place than other people, whose natural rights are equal to his, must work in; and if the tax were used for the common good it would equalize privileges.

(2) Strictly speaking, yes. For the wealth that an individual produces on land lying above the margin of production he is indebted, not to his labor, but to his advantage over individuals who must produce below the margin or not at all.

(3) I think so.

(4) Yes, except that the "contributions" are voluntary rather than enforced, and payments for a privilege rather than contributions.

Free Trade and Wages.

EAST PEPPERELL, Mass.—The tariff reformers assert that the effect of a radical revision of the tariff would be to increase wages by increasing the opportunities to work. This is basing the increase of wages to labor upon similar grounds to that upon which the land tax advocates base it. Now, the question of an increase of wages under free trade is one which, to my mind, is not perfectly clear. If it was, I would not trouble you with this inquiry.

On page 212 of "Progress and Poverty" I read: "And so in the United States, if we were to reduce public expenditure to the lowest possible point, and meet them by revenue taxation, the benefit could certainly not be greater than that which railroads have brought. There would be more wealth left in the hands of the people as a whole, just as the railroads have put more wealth in the hands of the people as a whole, but the same inexorable laws would operate as to its distribution. The condition of those who live by their labor would not ultimately be improved." Now, in view of this economic principle which I believe to be true, I wish to inquire whether we are to understand the increase of wages under free trade to be "as a quantity or as a proportion."

Suppose commercial free trade to be established—without the land tax system and business should be stimulated, and the cost of living reduced to the laborer, would not rent rise and the landlord reap the whole gain, and if so, how would the "poor people who have to work" be benefited?

Yours for the land tax.

D. S. FOSTER.

If you will re-read your quotation from "Progress and Poverty" you will notice that Mr. George says: "The condition of those who live by their labor would not ultimately be improved." This is true, and it is also true that a radical revision of the tariff would increase wages, both as a quantity and as a proportion. The increase of wages resulting from commercial free trade would not, however, be permanent. It was the ultimate effect to which Mr. George referred; but it is only the immediate effect to which single tax free traders refer.

If commercial free trade were established, land would be cheaper. The tariff benefits only land owners. A tax on coal makes coal mines dear and encourages the cornering of mines without using them. A tariff on lumber produces the same effect on lumber land. And so on. To abolish these tariffs would reduce the value of these kinds of land and by checking speculation in them bring such quantities into market as to still further reduce the value of all. You, as a land tax man, will readily see that a rise of wages would result from this. But the removal of duties, the consequent cheapening of land, the higher profit of capital and the increased wages of labor would ultimately bring about a reaction in land values and land speculation. Rents would rise, and as these rose land would become scarce in the market again. And, as a land tax man, you would also see that this would diminish profits, discourage enterprise and reduce wages.

Commercial free trade in itself would benefit people who have to work, but its chief importance is as a step which the people are now ready to take and which leads directly and inevitably to absolute free trade in its broadest sense—free production and free exchange.

Uncashed Increments.

BROOKLYN.—(1) What constitutes an uncashed increment?

(2) Are there any other uncashed increments besides that accruing from the increase of land values?

(3) Is the taking (by an individual) of an uncashed increment at any time in accord with pure justice?

(4) If so, when?

FRED C. GROTH.

(1) Uncashed increment is an arbitrary term used to describe land value. Two hundred and fifty years ago Manhattan island had no value because there were so few people here that one who wanted to use part of it could get all he wanted for nothing. But as population increased and the land was appropriated, whoever would use any of it was forced to pay some one

else for the privilege; and now the price of such a privilege anywhere on the island is very high. This price is, strictly speaking, economic rent; but it is frequently called unearned increment, because it is a value that the owner does not earn, and appears to be something added to the land itself.

(2) The only thing like it is the value that attaches to other forms of monopoly. Sometimes through fluctuations of prices the owner of a commodity will find that its value has increased on his hands. But this increase bears no resemblance to the "unearned increment" of land.

(3) It does not follow that individuals are to be condemned for profiting by what the community approves. It is the system that is to be condemned in these cases, not the individual.

The Rise in Coffee.

NEW YORK.—I read in Queries and Answers in your issue of the 31st ultimo Mr. Lucas's question regarding the prices of tea and coffee before and after they were placed on the free list, as spoken by Mr. Edmunds in his article in *Harper's Monthly*.

To explain the reasons for the maintenance of prices after the tax was repealed, it is not a fact that at about the same time that coffee was placed upon the free list the Brazilian government imposed a heavy export duty which almost made up the difference. Another probable explanation is that the coffee plant takes some years to come into bearing, and if there were for any reason a suddenly increased demand for the berry, it could only be supplied to the extent of the already existing plantations, and some years would elapse before the supply could equal the demand, when prices would, of course, fall to a normal point.

J. L. DUNHAM.

The Brazilian export duty has been referred to as a factor to account for the rise in coffee after the abolition of our import duty; but the facts do not seem to warrant this explanation.

In a recent issue of the *Evening Post* took the trouble to make an historical presentation of the subject, from which we find that our import duty on coffee was reduced in 1871 from 5 to 3 cents a pound, and in 1873 it was wholly abolished; and that it was not in either of these years, but as long before as 1867, that Brazil imposed an export duty of nine per cent, which has been maintained ever since. When our import duty was repealed coffee rose in price. This could not have been due to the Brazilian export tax, for as already stated, that has been long in force; but neither was it a result of the repeal of our import tax, as protectionists claim. The rise in coffee began about 1880, when it was worth less than 10 cents a pound, and continued until 1874, when it was as high as 19½ cents, a difference of over 9 cents, which, as the *Post* truly says, was "a rise so great that the duty removed becomes too insignificant a factor." On the protectionist theory applied to coffee, the repeal of a 5 cent duty even if they have to keep their breweries closed indefinitely. Money is plenty on their side. The journeymen say they have money enough to last six months. The strongest cards the men can play are two. If all sympathizers will stop drinking beer and ale during the strike it will materially aid the men by the intimidating effect it will have on the bosses. If the saloon keepers will refuse to sell the boycotted beer, that will also help the men.

In the mean time the breweries are being closed up with new men.

The journeymen maltsters and brewers of Chicago, 2,000 men, went on strike last Thursday, because of a circular issued by the brewery proprietors refusing recognition of the brewers' and maltsters' union. At last accounts the men were discouraged.

Eight Thousand More Workers May Strike.

There is a probability of an increase of strikes in the building trades. The tin and slate roofers and tanners want to make new contracts for the coming season, to commence May 1. The roofers want four dollars for a day's work of nine hours, and thirty-eight of the employing firms have already said that they will not accede to the demands. M. Harmon, who has the contract for roofing the new Gaiscevitch market, has refused to go on with the work until this difficulty has been settled. The framers want forty cents an hour and nine hours, except on Saturday, when they want eight hours, and double pay for Sunday work. If these two trades strike they will directly affect 8,000 men, and indirectly the entire building trade.

Refunding War Taxes.

KALAMAZOO, Mich.—Will you be so kind as to explain in the columns of *THE STANDARD* this scheme in congress of refunding to the states the direct taxes levied during the war? I do not understand it. How was it collected, and why should it be paid back when the indirect war taxation is still kept up? If you will explain what this scheme is and the reason given for it you will greatly oblige me. I have not seen anything in any of the papers which has given me any light upon it.

N. G. LESLIE.

During the war several kinds of direct taxes were levied in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. For example: On one occasion a sum—I think it was \$20,000,000—was apportioned among the states according to population, and raised by a tax on real estate. It is now proposed to return this and other sums levied in a similar manner to the states according to the quota they paid. There is no reason for returning it. It would not, and in most cases could not, be returned to the people who paid it, and it would furnish a method of keeping down the surplus without diminishing taxation, and thus give the internal and customs revenues a longer lease of life. The latter is the real motive of the scheme, although the ostensible motive is to return to the people out of an abundant treasury taxes that they paid for war purposes. This, as I have already said, it would not accomplish, for the money would stick in the state treasuries; but if, instead of sticking there, it could go back to the people who paid it, that would be returning war taxes to direct tax payers, not alone without similarly reimbursing indirect tax payers for their contribution to the war, but actually at the expense of indirect tax payers.

WILLIAM GEDDES, M. D.,
221 E street, N. W.
Secretary.

THE BREWERS IN A FERMENT.

Five Thousand Men Out—A Bitter Fight in Prospect—A Strike Probable in the Brewing Trades.

The action of the journeymen brewers last Sunday deciding to keep on at work and let the central labor unions of New York, Brooklyn and Hudson county do the boycotting of boss brewers who refused to sign the new contracts; also the action of the Brooklyn central labor union in placing a boycott on the breweries of H. B. Schramm, S. Liebmans Sons, William Ulmer, Ferdinand Muench, Williamsburg, and C. P. Hawkins Sons, New York city, have brought about the crisis predicted in this paper last week. At a meeting of the boss brewers, held on Tuesday, April 10, the following was unanimously adopted:

We, the undersigned, do hereby resolve to reorganize our working force.

And be it further resolved: That in carrying out the above resolution we pledge ourselves to maintain, in good faith, any existing contracts with our men.

Men desiring steady employment at good wages, as drivers and workmen in breweries, are requested to register their names at 108 East Fourteenth street, near Fourth avenue, New York, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 2 p.m., on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week.

The resolutions were signed by seventy-five leading brewing firms of this city, Brooklyn, Hudson county and Newark, and are certain to be endorsed by the brewing trade all over the country.

The employment agency opened by the association on Fourteenth street was crowded last Thursday, Friday and Saturday by applicants for work. About 2,500 names were registered. The men who registered were about twenty per cent brewers and the balance mostly laborers.

Last Monday at noon seventy-nine boys brewers of this city, Brooklyn, Hudson county and Newark locked out all their brewing employees—about 5,000 men—and informed that those who desired to return to work on the employers' terms as outlined in the resolutions above, could report on Tuesday morning. The engineers nearly all remained at work. They had a meeting Monday morning and decided to give up their charter. This is a setback to the strikers.

The fight promises to be bitter one. The employers say they are determined to win even if they have to keep their breweries closed indefinitely. Money is plenty on their side. The journeymen say they have money enough to last six months. The strongest cards the men can play are two. If all sympathizers will stop drinking beer and ale during the strike it will materially aid the men by the intimidating effect it will have on the bosses. If the saloon keepers will refuse to sell the boycotted beer, that will also help the men.

In the mean time the breweries are being closed up with new men.

The journeymen maltsters and brewers of Chicago, 2,000 men, went on strike last Thursday, because of a circular issued by the brewery proprietors refusing recognition of the brewers' and maltsters' union. At last accounts the men were discouraged.

Cleveland, by his message, has given us the inside track and an even start in the race. They own the horses, it is true, but we are the drivers, if we only will take hold of the lines and drive for all the horses are worth toward the single tax. I for one believe after mature thought that we ought to seize the opportunity and go into this fight as individuals, and in advocating free trade and the single tax on land values in order to kill land monopoly. No one knows how much he can do for the cause until he has tried it, and it is by trying it that I have reached this conclusion. Let us place ourselves at present, at least, on the side of the administration. That act alone will have a tendency to give our ideas respectful consideration, and that is what we must have before they can ever be adopted. Therefore let us seize the opportunity.

We will have at least two delegates from Toledo to the Chicago conference July 4th.

A. R. WYNK.

A Composite Photograph.

Here are some of the answers given at a teachers' examination at Canton, Ohio, recently to the questions: "Who is Henry George?" "What principles does he represent?"

"An anarchist."

"Writer on free trade."

"Man for governor of New York, and was defeated."

"Leader of the liberal republican party of New York."

"Lecturer."

"Communist."

"Citizen of New York, with peculiar principles."

"Advocates disputes about the fisheries of Newfoundland."

"Commissioner of the fishery department."

"A democrat favoring tariff reform."

"King of Russia."

"First king of England."

"Signer of the constitution."

"Political advocate of temperance."

PEN, PASTE AND SCISSORS.

The single tax men of Des Moines, Iowa, have organized a non-partisan tax reform association.

TEACHER—John, give me a sentence containing the word contents. JOHN—The contents of a cow's milk.

Ross Winans, the American, intends to give up his Scotch deer forests in Ross-shire and Inverness-shire, which exceed over about 300,000 acres.

According to the Hartford *Courant* men who go south for change and rest find on their return that the dairies get all the change and the landlords the rest.

The employment agency opened by the association on Fourteenth street was crowded last Thursday, Friday and Saturday by applicants for work. The cause is such that he is willing to work for it on a very small salary, a certain fixed sum per month for his entire time. This party, while circulating the petition, also takes subscriptions for *THE STANDARD* and the *Labor Echo*, and gives us the benefit of his commissions, so that the expense of keeping the above memorial; said committee are to submit to the vote of the people the following amendment to the constitution of the state:

AMENDMENT ADDING ARTICLE XVIII TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF TEXAS.

Sec. 1. Improvements on land and personal property, except from taxation and all direct taxes shall be levied on land values only. The word "improvements," as herein used, shall be construed to include any product obtained by the application to land of human industry, such as from the breaking up of the wild sod and from clearing land and reducing it to cultivation, as well as such improvements as buildings and fences, and any and all provisions of the present constitution of the state, as well as those of existing laws which prohibit the legislature or the proper authorities of any corporation or corporation from increasing in their discretion the percentage of ad valorem taxes shall be and the same are hereby repealed.

Sec. 2. This amendment shall go into effect ninety days after the adjournment of the first regular session of the legislature held after its adoption.

Branches of the single tax association are being rapidly formed in other states, and there is no reason why, by equally energetic work, they should not accomplish results as great as those that are being achieved in Texas. There is not a state in the Union that is not ripe for the circulation of just such a petition.

There reports from clubs all over the state shown in the fast report. We simply cannot take the time from private matters to make the detailed compilation of these reports required by the by-laws, but it will be shown in next month's report. Every mail brings us letters from faithful workers all over the state, whose contagious and encouraging zeal and enthusiasm seems never to tire.

Respectfully submitted,
H. F. KING,
J. B. COCHRAN,
L. L. BEACH,
State Executive Committee.

The following is the petition referred to in the report:

To the Twenty-first Legislature of the State of Texas: The undersigned citizens of the state, Texas, including democrats, republicans, prohibitionists, socialists, &c., respectfully petition your honored body to submit to the vote of the people the following amendment to the constitution of the state:

AMENDMENT ADDING ARTICLE XVIII TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF TEXAS.

The issuance of this report has been delayed by the pressure of private affairs upon the time of the members of this committee. This delay, however, enables us to state some interesting developments in connection with the work of obtaining signatures in Harris county to the petition to the next legislature.

In the first place, we circulated among a few avowed friends of the cause here a subscription list headed by the tax reform memorial, with the following addenda:

We, the undersigned, agree, so long as it may be necessary, to give to each month the sum indicated below option on our names, for the purpose of providing a fund to be used by the executive committee

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at

13 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

One year, \$1.50; six months, \$1.25; single copies, 5 cents.
Mailed at the postoffice, New York, second class
matter.Communications and contributions are invited, and
will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found
useful for publication will be returned if sufficient
stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be
given of anonymous communications.Contributions and letters on editorial matters should
be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD,
and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER
OF THE STANDARD.THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers
of every paper in the United States, to whom
she will give a favor on the publisher by notifying
her promptly.

Single copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1888.

THE STANDARD is forwarded to sub-
scribers by the early morning mails each
Thursday. Subscribers who do not receive
the paper promptly will confer a favor
by communicating with the publisher.

A BATCH OF INTERVIEWS.

The Chicago Mail recently sent out its
reporters to obtain interviews on the sub-
ject of the single tax from professional
and business men not connected with the
movement. On April 7 it published
thirty-eight such interviews, a synopsis
of which we reproduce below.Twelve of the gentlemen interviewed
declared themselves opposed to the single
tax, the reasons assigned showing that
they were either affected by their personal
interests or in utter ignorance of the sub-
ject.Ex-Governor John A. Hamilton: "I am
against the single tax, as it would virtually
be a tax on homesteads. I would rather re-
verse the proposition and not tax land at all,
thus leaving the homestead free. I would
place all taxes on capital and speculative
property."Walter M. Sempill, druggist, corner of Clark
and Madison streets: "I don't think it a good
idea. If a man puts up an improvement on
a vacant lot he ought to be taxed more than
he was for the vacant lot, and the bigger the
improvement the more tax he ought to pay.
I really haven't given the subject any
thought."W. C. Potter, jeweler: "Property, in all
forms should be taxed, whether it is real or
personal. The present system is in principle
correct, although a great deal of hardship is
worked because personal property is not re-
turned. Something ought to be done to pre-
vent fraudulent listing of personalty. If all
taxes were bbae by real estate no one would
want to own any, and Chicago would be a
deserted village. The land wouldn't be im-
proved. It is the improvements on land that
make it valuable. I am in favor of an inter-
nal revenue tax revised and for a revenue
tariff."E. Peacock, formerly a well known jeweler,
now retired from business: "They are taxing
real estate too much now. Why, I've held
vacant land on the outskirts of the city for
forty years, waiting till I could get my figure
on it, and really it has been eaten up two or
three times with taxes."George A. Tripp of Sidney Shepard & Co.,
wholesale hardware dealers: "Real estate
pays its full share of the taxes now, more, in
fact, than personal property does, because it
is not so easily concealed. I believe that the
last tax returns show that there are only
about four hundred or five hundred gold
watches in Chicago. The fault is that per-
sonal property is not assessed high enough.
If real estate were taxed any higher there
would be no inducement to people to invest
their money in it."Ex-alderman A. E. Cook, building con-
tractor: "Workmen would be taxed out of
existence if public revenues were derived
solely by land taxation. It seems to me that
such a scheme would only result in making
life easy for the millionaires. A man who
owned \$100,000 worth of bonds would pay
nothing, and the workingmen and middle
classes would pay all the tax."D. V. Purington, ex-county commissioner
and brick maker: "That is Henry George's
scheme. I don't approve it. Land specula-
tion, to my mind, is just as legitimate as any
other business. Protection by tariff duties is
what has made our country what it is and
they must be continued."Henry Stewart, clerk of Judge Altgeld's
court: "It looks like a fool scheme to me to
tax nothing but land. A man who buys a
piece of property and builds on it ought to
have the benefit of the added value on prop-
erty he may own in the vicinity. There is
plenty of good land in the country and people
needn't talk about it not being obtainable at
reasonable rates."T. J. Kinsella, real estate: "Land is taxed
too much already without talking about put-
ting an additional burden on it."F. A. Honslow, real estate: "Such a tax
would be too burdensome on landlords. Cor-
porations would escape almost entirely, as
but few of them own land to any great extent.
The present system, I admit, is unfair in that
railroads and big corporations have a
faculty of escaping from paying their just
dues. An income tax would be fair to all
provided the property could be got at."E. A. Cummings, real estate dealer: "Land
pays five-sixths of all taxes already. It is on
record that but one percent of the personal
property in Chicago is taxed. A license sys-
tem and income tax world, I think, do away
with many of the abuses of the present sys-
tem."E. S. Derryer & Co., bankers: "The present
system of taxation is a farce, but a single tax
on land values would make matters worse by
allowing the big security holders to go scot
free. A direct income tax as enforced in
Germany, is theoretically the true system.
In practice it might not work so advantage-
ously, however."Six of the thirty-eight confessed they
had not given the subject sufficient
thought. Of these Judge Lyman Trum-
bull and General McNulta, receiver of the
Wauash road, said their first impressions
were against it; Warren Leland, hotel
man, was inclined to think it a good
thing; Ezra J. Warner of Sprague, Warner
& Griswold, wholesale grocers, said he
had determined to read "Progress and
Poverty," as he felt sure the editorials in
the papers against it were written by menwho did not know what they were talking
about; and with but one exception all
thought it a subject that was coming to
the front and was worth considering.Five of the thirty-eight declined to com-
mit themselves to an indorsement of the
single tax. But it is evident in which di-
rection their minds are tending, if, indeed
these have not already "got there."H. W. Seymour, editor of the Chicago
Herald: "The present tax system is as bad
as it could possibly be. Federal, state and
municipal taxes are all inequitable, extrava-
gant and unjust, but I do not care to endorse
the single tax, as it would involve too many
changes and it is too remote. The thing to
do now is to stop the private taxing power,
which enables a few men to levy tribute on
the many."Joseph Kasper of Shourds, Storey & Kas-
per, jewelers: "The present mode of levying
taxes is not right, but I don't know that a
single tax on land would make much differ-
ence. The school lands are not valued at
one-fifth of what they are actually worth,
and none of the land on State street is rated
at more than a third of what it would bring."George Buck of Buck & Raynor, druggists,
corner of State and Madison streets: "It
ought to be tried. I wouldn't like to be com-
mitted to the doctrine, but it certainly ought
to have a trial. I do think it is a matter
worth considering by business men. I don't
pretend to say I am competent to speak of it,
but I think it is a good idea."E. Baggett, manufacturing plumber: "I
knew of a widow with five children who kept
a little toy and confectionery store near a
school. She was taxed \$50, and her whole
stock wasn't worth that much. This is a sub-
ject well worth discussion. I don't believe in
an income tax. I have always looked on a
personal property tax as a sort of cheating
scheme, but I think it is perhaps as good as
any other way."Charles H. Kingman, of Gray, Kingman &
Collins, wholesale grocers: "I haven't given
the subject the consideration due it, but I
should think that all forms of personal prop-
erty should be exempt from taxation when it
tends to repress or discourage industry. In
our business the margin of profit is very nar-
row, yet we have to pay taxes on our stock at
the same rate as other businesses where the
profits are three or four times as large. The
taxes on a large stock of our goods are very
oppressive. I think the present system entails
a great deal of injustice and should be reformed,
although I don't know that I am willing to lay all the burden on real estate."But no less than fifteen of the thirty-
eight, as will be seen by the following,
declared themselves in favor of the single
tax:C. S. Darrow, lawyer, 94 LaSalle street:
"A single tax on land values would be an
effectual check to state and national extra-
vagance; would prevent inequality, fraud
and perfidy in our tax lists, would largely break
up land speculation and monopoly and greatly
stimulate production."G. H. Loehr, jeweler, 82 State street: "I
own some land down near the Calumet river
that I hope to make some money from. When
Hyde Park is taken in and the docks are
moved down there, it will be worth as much
as State street property. But the money I
make will not be earned. The single tax on
land values would knock out these foreign
syndicates which gobble up big tracts of land
that ought to be homes for our own citizens. It
would be a great thing for the west, for land
speculation is killing off legitimate business
and, this would knock that sort of
thing higher than a kite."C. S. Darrow, lawyer, 94 LaSalle street:
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would be a great thing for the west, for land
speculation is killing off legitimate business
and, this would knock that sort of
thing higher than a kite."Fred Ryther, with J. V. Farwell & Co.: "I
think a single tax would stimulate trade
all along the line and prevent recurring in-
dustrial depressions. It would also give em-
ployment to the surplus labor of the country
which is constantly forcing wages down. I
haven't given the subject extensive thought,
but I can see great good in the application
of the single tax."Michael Ulrich, of Grummets & Ulrich,
importers of wines and cigars: "It is a splendid
idea. The present system of taxing a man's
stock in trade and whatever furniture and
comforts of life he has gathered together is
unjust and ought to be abolished."George Williams, broom manufacturer:
"A single tax on land values would, in my opin-
ion, solve the labor problem, abolish poverty
and monopolies, and start an era of prosperity
which would be healthy and lasting. The
farmers of the country are robbed of more
than half their earnings by the monopolists
and the so called protective tariff."St. Clair Sutherland, court bailiff: "I am
decidedly in favor of it. The rich man's lot on
Prairie avenue would pay its proportionate
share and the poor man's lot on Sacramento
avenue would not pay more than it rightly
should. I know a rich man who peddled tickets
for a certain assessor. He wouldn't have
done that for any other town officer. What
did he do for it? I know and so do you. The
present system is very unjust."H. Webster, manager for Henry R. Worth-
ington & Co.: "I know that on my little house
in the suburbs I pay twice as much taxes as a
friend of mine does who owns four houses. If
taxes were on real estate alone I don't think I
would be the one who would pay the most. It
is undoubtedly true that a tax on real estate
alone would be a great help to business."Ed. Mandel of Mandel Bros., dry goods: "It
cannot be questioned that it is far easier to
get at the value of real estate than of personal
property. That cannot be concealed,
while it is easy enough to swear that the
furniture, pictures, pianos, carpets, etc., in
your house cost only \$2,000, when maybe one
picture could not be bought for that. It
would certainly be more equitable and just
for the man who owns his little home. As it
is now he pays very much more in proportion
than the rich man does. The proposed scheme
would lighten the burden of taxes on the
business men."Robert Stevenson, wholesale druggist: "A
personal property tax is a horrible thing. It
is unjust. I pay one-third more taxes on my
house and furniture than the man across the
street, whose house is worth nearly twice as
much as mine. It would be a great relief to
business if the taxes on goods in the store
were removed. What does an assessor who
comes in here know of the value or profit on
the goods? Nothing. The personal property
tax is more onerous and oppressive than any
other expense. It seems more like robbery."A. Ryder, commission merchant on South
Water street: "Business would go better if
the taxes were abolished, on stock in trade
and levied on real estate. Here on SouthWater street, rents are enormous. I paid
\$2,400 last year for this store, 18 feet by 60
and the landlord is going to charge me
\$3,000 next year. People who own land on
South Water street can make an everlasting
fortune without working. I think the people
of Chicago ought to get the benefit of the
land value here."F. E. Nellis, South Water street commission
merchant: "Isn't the personal property tax
abolished as far as concerns the rich? It falls
heaviest now upon those least able to bear it.
The burden of taxes exclusively on real estate
values would relieve business a great deal,
and I think it a good idea. It would be a bad
thing for those who hold unimproved land
for a rise, and that would be right. They
should either be compelled to put to use the
land they are holding away from other people
or else go out. We pay \$4,500 a year
rent for a space of 26x145 feet and four stories
high. The landlord hasn't done \$50
worth of improvement in ten years. It's
awful. The tax on land values would bring
down our rent and make our business better."T. Mason, South Water street commission
merchant: "The building which I lease could
be paid for easily with three years' rent. I
pay \$5,000 rent for a twenty-foot front. I
suppose that the land on which it stands is worth
\$3,000 a year to the landlord."C. C. Straw, lawyer, Lakeside building:
"Present socialistic conditions and tendencies
will be best met and disposed of in harmony
with the genius of our republican institutions
by the adoption of a single tax upon land."Henry T. Jones, property owner and brick
maker: "I have investigated the subject of
this land tax and find a great deal of good in
it. Everything seems to be concentrating
into the hands of the few just now, and some-
thing ought to be done to remedy the evil."It is certainly encouraging to find that
out of thirty-eight business men, selected
at random in Chicago, fifteen are believers
in the doctrine of industrial emancipation.
It is scarcely less encouraging to learn
that of the same thirty-eight no less
than twelve are avowedly opposed to it
and not averse to giving the reasons for
their opposition. When once a man can
be induced to cast about for arguments in
support of the proposition that the privilege
of licensing men to live upon the earth
is a thing to be bought and sold and
owned, he is not far from knowledge of
the truth. If a man's face is dirty, the
surest way to convince him of it is to get
him to look in the glass.

MR. FUGGELSON'S CHILDREN.

The tragedy at Knowlville, N. J., is pre-
cisely one of those abnormalities which
are the despair of the student of social
science and the delight of the sensational
newspaper, and it is not surprising that
the coroner's jury should have renderedthe verdict that they did. For there can
be no doubt that the death of the Fuggel-
son children was directly due to their
treatment by their elder brothers, though
there can be as little question that the
elder children thought that in acting as
they did they were only doing what was
right. The case is altogether so remarkable—
such a regular fifteen puzzle of
psychology—and the local newspaper re-
ports were so evidently influenced by
prejudice, that THE STANDARD determined
to send its own commissioner to Know-
ville to make a thorough investigation of
the circumstances. The commissioner's
task has been completed, and from his report
we have compiled the following nar-
rative, which we can vouch for as reliable.Matthew T. Fuggelson is a man with a
hobby. A widower with fourteen children,
possessed of independent means, his hobby has been to bring his children up
apart from the world, and to launch them
in life with such firmly fixed principles of
thought and action that they should
never be tempted to go astray. In
politics Mr. Fuggelson is a republican pro-
tectionist, and his children, of course,
have been educated in that faith. His
house at Knowlville is more than two miles
from any other dwelling; and Knowlville
itself, as every one knows, is a peculiarly
inaccessible village, only to be reached by
a series of little railroads which run with
small regularity at the best of times, and
suspend operations altogether during an
ordinary snow storm. It is probably some
years since the Fuggelson children have
met anybody from the outside world, save
perhaps an occasional teamster bringing
supplies to their secluded home.The 12th of March found Mr. Fuggelson
in New York, whether he had come on
Prairie avenue would pay its proportionate
share and the poor man's lot on Sacramento
avenue would not pay more than it rightly
should. I know a rich man who peddled tickets
for a certain assessor. He wouldn't have
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a series of little railroads which run with
small regularity at the best of times, and
suspend operations altogether during an
ordinary snow storm. It is probably some
years since the Fuggelson children have
met anybody from the outside world, save
perhaps an occasional teamster bringing
supplies to their secluded home.Matthew T. Fuggelson is a man with a
hobby. A widower with fourteen children,
possessed of independent means, his hobby has been to bring his children up
apart from the world, and to launch them
in life with such firmly fixed principles of
thought and action that they should
never be tempted to go astray. In
politics

gives him eminence at the bar, and, with which readers of the STANDARD have been made familiar by the single tax arguments from his pen which have already been printed in the STANDARD and had such large circulation in the land and labor library. This address we shall also publish as a tract, and it ought to do most effective work between now and November—work that will tell long after this campaign. Mr. Shearman has put the tariff question in a nutshell.

An Appeal to Freedom.

J. R. P. in New York writes.

What is this sad rumor flying
From the Hub, whose pride is lying
Bleeding in the dust? What means
This talk about "imported beans?"

Once each seven years, while nodes
Jove, stalks fanning 'mong the pods—
Then the proud ship of state careers
And Boston scores the globe for beans!

Shall foul Europe's pauper bean
Invade the sacred Common's green,
Strike down an infant industry
And snuff its tendrils to the sky?

Fortify it, freedom! Let free trade
Still the more odious be made!

Show the imported bean, and then
"God save the tariff" once again!

DOGS THAT FEED AT RICH MEN'S TABLES

A Bathing Establishment Devoted to Their Service. Where They Are Washed, Perfumed and Made Beautiful.

It's a pleasant thing to be a dog—if one has the luck to be a dog of high degree, and to belong to a master or mistress who moves in the first circles of society and treats a dog as a dog ought to be treated. Plenty to eat, just enough exercise to preserve health, no work to do and lots of petting—who wouldn't be a dog if he could only make sure of being the right kind of a dog and having the right kind of an owner?

Everyday people, who work for a living, and if they keep a dog, feed him on table scraps and compel him to arrange his own toilet in the back yard, have a good deal to learn about the way in which the idlers of society care for their pets. A recent issue of the *World*, for instance, contains a description of a canine bathing or toilet establishment, which is decidedly interesting reading.

The establishment, we are told, is a very exclusive one. It displays no sign or other external token of its business, nor are any ordinary dogs admitted to its privileges. No dog may enter unless his owner has been properly introduced by some patron of the house. This keeps the place select and avoids the risk of society's dogs being brought into contaminating contact with curs of low degree. Once admitted, however, the dog may take his choice of luxuries at varying prices, according as he feels extravagantly or economically disposed. For twenty-five cents he may paddle round in the general swimming pool and be afterward sponged dry and combed. An exclusive swim, with the subsequent ceremonies, costs fifty cents. Special perfume for the brushes and combs used in obstinate snarls adds a quarter more to the tariff, and the most luxurious accommodations the house affords are to be had by a big dog for a round dollar of his master's or mistress's money.

There is a visitor's book kept at the dog's bath house, in which are recorded the dog's names and very often the treatments they receive. The *World* reporter took a look at this volume and copied out some of its entries. Here they are:

Nero, a big black Newfoundland weighing 130 pounds; leather sash; Florida water extract. Zip, the Slave terrier; blue ribbon about neck; with many a swelling around the same and address; infant powder and powder extract.

Centaur, large St. Bernard; collar of silver and leather showing name and address;

These entries, the *World* man informs us, are easily understood by the initiated. Nero had his leash taken off and left with the registrar before going into the pool. Then he had a special douché of Florida water when he came out, costing fifteen cents additional. Zip left off his neck ribbon and medal before taking the plunge, was perfumed with a dash of musk when rubbed dry and then powdered. Centaur's collar was removed when he registered and he had a special treatment with refined kerosene oil, when his ablutions had been otherwise concluded, for fees.

Civilization is decidedly advancing. The world becomes every year a more and more delightful place to live in—for a dog—that is, for a dog of the right kind.

Factory Life in the Northwest.

A female correspondent of the St. Paul *Globe* recently visited several shirt, overall and similar manufactures in Minneapolis. In one place where over two hundred girls worked in one crowded room in which the air was poisoned with sewer gas from the closets which opened on it, she found girls making shirts, all but sewing the button holes and buttons, for three and a half cents each. They were able to make ten or a dozen a day. In another part of the room, overalls were made for seven cents each—the former pay was twelve cents. Jean pants were finished completely for eight and ten cents per pair. The girls were subject to headaches from the bad air and often had to go out; in this case a pass was required from the foreman. One of the girls said: "Our foreman says we girls wear too many feathers and fine clothes and threatens he'll cut our wages, so we'll be glad to wear plain clothes by next spring; and when he meets one of the girls on the street who is well dressed he asks her where she got her fine feathers and dress, and says she didn't buy them out of the wages she earned here."

In other places the conditions were about the same.

A Debate That Business Men Should Bear.

A public debate will take place between representatives of the Brooklyn single tax club and the Randolph club of the Twenty-third ward of Brooklyn, on Tuesday evening, April 24, at the rooms of the former, Thayer's hall, corner Fulton street and Bedford avenue. The subject of the debate will be: "Are the chances of success in business as great in this generation as in the preceding one?" Messrs. J. P. Kohler, James F. Thompson and J. O'C. Hennessy will speak for the single tax club; Messrs. George S. Atkins, George D. Freesone and Fred F. Purdy for the Randolph club. All persons interested are cordially invited to be present.

At Work in Pawtucket.

PATWICKET, R. I., April 16.—We are steadily and constantly sowing the seeds of truth and reform in this place and the harvest will come soon. Last Sunday we had a very instructive lecture by Professor H. Garland of Jamaica plain, Boston. There is prospect of a very lively campaign in this place, and single tax men expect to get in good work for free trade and free land.

EDWARD BARKER.

THE WEEK.

Roscoe Conkling.

Roscoe Conkling died in this city on the morning of Wednesday, April 18.

It is an old proverb that nothing but good should be said of the dead. Happy indeed is the man of whom, dying, little but good can be said. Such a man was Roscoe Conkling. His virtues were patent to all. His faults must be sought for if one would know them.

Whether or not he was the great statesman his admirers thought him, must be left for a future generation to decide. We of to-day are too close to the man and the events of which he was a part to do more than guess at the proportions of either to the other. But Roscoe Conkling has a claim to our admiration which it needs no perspective to appreciate.

For he was an honest man, amid the strongest temptations to be otherwise. He was honest in his honesty. He was little troubled about what others might think of him, but a great deal about what he thought of himself. While other politicians cared only for their records, he cared for his life. To be, and not to seem, was what he sought. He entered public life and rose to commanding prominence at a time when political leadership was well nigh a synonym for wealth, and he left the senate of the United States a poorer man than at the beginning of his career.

It is an evil thing for the republic when to be an honest man in public life becomes a title to distinction. But all the more is it a noble thing to have deserved that distinction. And Roscoe Conkling deserved it.

The Deadlock in the House.

The deadlock in the house of representatives was broken on the 13th of April, when a motion to adjourn was carried by a vote of 149 to 137. Although the vote took place on Thursday, April 12, it was technically the session of Wednesday, April 4, which was terminated.

The first skirmish of the coming battle between the forces of protection and free trade is thus decided in favor of the latter. The protectionists had every possible advantage in the contest. They had succeeded by a trick in getting before the house a bill in which all the worst features of "low rolling" legislation were combined—a bill which not only commanded the support of a powerful lobby, but also appealed to the interests of no less than twenty-eight states, every one of which would have derived direct pecuniary benefit from the passage of the bill. Although the bill was brought before the house on the distinct understanding that but a single day should be given to its consideration, they managed to expand one day into seven by refusing to adjourn, and consenting only to occasional recesses. That in spite of all their advantages and maneuvers they should have been foiled in their attempt to force open the treasury doors is a matter of congratulation. Colonel Gates and the little band who have stood by him so steadfastly deserve well of the republic.

The direct tax bill, had it become a law, would have been but the first of a series of raids, which would rapidly have emptied the treasury. A cotton tax refunding bill would have followed, the overflowed land bill would have taken \$25,000,000—there would have been a general scramble for spoils. The republicans would have gone before the country next fall, pointing to an emptied treasury as an argument against any reduction in taxation, and in the same voice accusing the democratic party of the extravagance of having emptied it. All this is now happily averted.

What It Cost.

The Washington correspondent of the *World* amuses himself by calculating the daily cost of the deadlock, as follows:

Salaries of members, \$4,550; speaker's room, \$12; chaplain, \$8; clerk's office, \$240; engineers and mechanics, \$85; sergeant at arms' office, \$45; doorkeeper's office, \$85; post office, \$10; committee clerks, \$25; official reporters, \$75; police, \$50; miscellaneous, \$820; grand total, \$8,950.

Say \$30,000 for the six working days. Well, after all, it was cheap at that.

The River and Harbor Bill.

The river and harbor bill, at all events in its present shape, is probably killed for this session. There was nothing to be said in favor of it, and everything to be said against it. The fate of the direct tax bill discouraged its advocates.

Minimizing the Issue.

Those who think that the coming contest is going to be over a mere question of tariff tinkering, and that the basic principles of protection and free trade are not going to be thoroughly discussed and compared, will do well to read a few of the utterances of the party leaders in Congress, in their discussion of the president's message. Here is Senator Morrill domining his war paint, declaring that a tariff for revenue only is a synonym for free trade, and shrieking that "Henry George has characterized the message as a deadly blow at the ugly fetish of protection." Then he goes on to say that "the protective tariff was originated, as it should now be maintained, by far sighted farmers and planters for their own special benefit, to create a constant and sure home market of consumers, to bring the manufacturer and the agriculturalist together, and to enable the country to maintain two citizens where only one could otherwise find support."

It cannot be doubted that a protective tariff has vastly increased and diversified American manufactures and made their economical and uniform production a wide and profound study among the people of every state in the union. It has excited the brain power of not merely the men of science, but the inborn inventive faculties of a great multitude of practical workingmen, and has promoted their happiness and thrift.

On the other side comes Senator Coke, no less eager for the fray and not at all inclined to minimize the issue.

If reduction should be made in the tariff, \$5 of tribute paid by the people to the manufacturers will be cut off for every dollar cut off from the revenue. The tariff out of which these results grow is the most monstrous sys-

tem of taxation that this or any other country has ever known.

This high tariff protection is universally defended on the ground of the necessity of protecting American labor against European pauper competition. This is all that there is of the protection argument, and no effort has been made to place it on any other ground. But a more false, heartless and groundless pretext has never been invented to justify or cover up a great wrong.

If United States senators talk like this before the campaign is opened, what bounds will they be likely to set to their eloquence when their blood is heated by the conflict and the air is full of the thunder of the captains and the shouting. Avoid the issue! Soon look to see two bulldogs in the very act of flying at each other's throats, lay animosity aside and amicably discuss a bone. The fight is on! And nothing but a miracle can stop it.

General Warren's Monument.

On April 8, 1877, the Continental congress voted that a monument be erected in the town of Boston, to bear this inscription:

In honor of Joseph Warren, major-general of Massachusetts bay. He devoted his life to the liberties of his country, and in bravely defending them he fell an early victim in the battle of Bunker hill, June 17, 1775. The congress of the United States, as an acknowledgment of his services and distinguished merit, erected this monument to his memory.

On April 11, 1888, the United States senate passed the bill appropriating \$15,000 to be applied to carrying into effect the resolution adopted 111 years ago. The unfinished business of the government is being rapidly disposed of.

Leaving the City's Wharves.

Thirty-six one-year leases of New York city wharves have been sold at auction by order of the dock commissioners for \$89,155. The average of prices realized was considerably better than at the last annual sale.

It is universally conceded that this method of administering the wharfage facilities of this city is an eminently just one, since it secures to the community that steady increase of wharf value which the community creates by its commerce. Precisely why the community should have a right to the whole increase in value of land utilized as a landing place for cargoes, but no right whatever to the increase in value of the land utilized as a storage place for the same cargoes, is one of those mysteries of current economics that are past finding out.

Showing Off for Charity.

The loving kindness of fashionable New York fairly overflowed on Thursday of last week, when the Hahnemann hospital got the benefit of it. A number of young men and women, more or less prominent in "society," danced in public at the Metropolitan opera house, and a large audience paid money to see them do it. The young men and women claim to have been actuated by charity in thus placing themselves on exhibition, and it is to be presumed the spectators went to look at them in the same spirit.

Another exhibition, which realized about \$5,000 for the skin and cancer hospital, was given by the members of the New York riding club on Saturday evening last.

There was a grand entering procession, with flourishing of trumpets, a lot of marching and counter marching, a waltzing horse, and a few other of the more ordinary performances of the circus ring. The show was witnessed by a large and enthusiastic audience.

Recorder Smyth's Decision.

The manner in which the press and public have received Recorder Smyth's refusal to allow another grand jury to investigate the charges against Jay Gould and Russell Sage is instructive. Theoretically, at least, the recorder's decision should represent the wise and careful judgment of an unbiased judge; practically, it is assumed by very many people, it represents nothing of the sort. Gould and Sage must have been guilty of the crime they are charged with, because they are Gould and Sage; the recorder's decision must have been corruptly secured, because it was in favor of Gould and Sage; such is the unconscious train of reasoning in the minds of many men, not generally given to prejudice or hasty conclusions.

It is not the least alarming symptom of our social condition that men are thus losing confidence in the impartiality of our courts where the interests of any leading members of our corporation aristocracy are at stake. Mr. Smyth may or may not be a thoroughly upright judge. He is certainly a fearless one. Had he been otherwise the temptation to defer to popular clamor in his decision would have been well nigh irresistible.

The Woman Suffrage Bill at Albany.

The woman suffrage bill came within three votes of being passed by the assembly at Albany. One statesman, Mr. Tim Sullivan, explained his vote thus:

A month ago I intended to vote for this bill. Since then I have found two new avenues of employment of women. One is drawing spirit pictures in New York; the other is killing patent medicine bills at Albany. I vote no.

Then the house of assembly of the state of New York laughed.

Warden Walsh's Resignation.

Mr. Thomas P. Walsh, better known as Fatty Walsh, has resigned his position as warden of the city prison, and retires into private life until such time as he can be provided for in some equally profitable, but less conspicuous office.

It was a mistake to make a warden of Fatty in the first place. It ought not to have been done. It wasn't merely that he was unfit for the position—most city officials are unfit for their positions. There was an added something about Fatty—a flavor of gungs and low liquor saloons, and petty rascality—that made his unfitness peculiarly conspicuous. It was right that he should be sent to the Tombs, but altogether wrong that he should be sent there as warden. The public gorge rose

at the appointment.

Still, it is clear that if our statesmen use Fatty Walshes they must pay for them. It's all very well to talk about touching pitch and being defiled, but if you can't

get along without using pitch you must touch it, defilement or no defilement. Fatty was a political necessity. His price was the wardenship of the Tombs, and he got it.

But it is curious to see how all the papers pitch into poor Fatty—who in his administration of the Tombs has only obeyed the instincts of his nature—and have no word of reprehension for the higher authorities who have maintained him in his position for fifteen months. When a savage dog is allowed to run at large, it is customary to blame his owner for not keeping him chained up. But principles of that kind have no force in politics.

Two years ago Mr. Walsh wanted to go to congress and had arranged matters in his district to give himself the democratic nomination. But ex-Mayor Cooper and prospective Mayor Hewitt wanted to have young General Bryce, the son-in-law of one and the nephew-in-law of the other, go to congress. So, as was understood at the time, a "deal" was made with Mr. Walsh by which he was to have the wardenship of the Tombs on consideration of letting General Bryce go to congress in his stead. Whether Mr. Walsh would have been more of a public scandal as a representative in congress than as warden of the Tombs is not worth discussing, but it is unquestionable that more than half the power of the "disreputable element" in our politics comes from the readiness of the so-called "respectable element" to ditch with and buy them.

Convict Camp Life.

The horrors of exile in Siberia are well matched, if not surpassed, by those of convict camp life in Arkansas. The board of penitentiary commissioners of that state has made an investigation into the condition of the convicts at a single ministering camp, the result of which is given in the *Memphis Appeal*. It was found that the convicts were worked more than ten hours a day in badly ventilated mines and places dangerous to health and life; that they were insufficiently clothed, poorly fed, forced to work on Sunday and refused hospital accommodation.

The Appeal, commenting on the report, remarks that the fault is not in the board of commissioners, but in the law, which makes living human bodies the subjects of competitive hire and thus puts a premium on rapacity. "The state that works its convicts on the leased camp system," says the *Appeal*, "will inevitably be disgraced." We are much of the *Appeal's* opinion.

The United Labor Party.

The state executive committee has notified the members of the state committee to call congressional conventions in their respective districts for the purpose of electing delegates to the Cincinnati conference. The basis of representation in these conventions will be: For the first fourteen districts, one delegate for each 100 votes or fraction thereof cast for Henry George at the last election; and for the remaining twenty districts, one delegate for each 25 votes so cast. If any committee man fails to call a convention in his district, the state executive committee is to do so in his stead; or, if the emergency shall seem to require it, they shall designate the delegates to the national conference, who must be residents of the congressional district for which they are appointed.

Mr. Potter objects to Mayor Hewitt's plan because it would permit the mayor to control "the property interests of its citizens." He also thinks that as the present rapid transit roads pay taxes toward the support of the city, it would be a terrible injustice for the city to force them to compete with roads which, paying no taxes, could be operated at less expense. He is of opinion, too, that there might be danger of dishonest administration, that property along Broadway might be depreciated in value, and that the city couldn't borrow funds at three per cent. Altogether Mr. Orlando B. Potter doesn't like the idea, and would much prefer that things should be left as they are.

What is noticeable about Mr. Potter's speech before the senate committee is the somewhat trifling objections he advanced, but the tone of self assertion and class assertion that runs through it. He poses as a member of an oligarchy, and not as a citizen of a democracy.

He feels that in any question affecting the government and administration of New York

The Time is Great.

Spanish Copy.

The time is great. Let us not waste our days, Those slender links in the strong chain of life That binds the past and future, making time One great eternity of endless years That bend over stretch behind us and before.

The time is great. Who has not felt the thrill That vibrates through the world from pole to pole,

Quickening earth's children to a deeper life! They waken from their sleep of centuries, Forget their petty aims, their selfish care, As did their ancestors, the great of old. And one by one, new baptized in the light, Drove, voice to the Universal Soul, Of past and present born, king of all time, All men, all actions, great and small.

The time is great and great the hope for man;

He's caught a glimpse of his great destiny. New prophets preach the truth with words of fire;

And heroes die for justice once again: The brooding bush of expectation yields To the fierce noise of conflict, or the shout Of victory assured; and martyrs know

The felon's scaffold is a lingy throe, Whereas sits Truth to sway and rule the world.

The time is great. What! look ye to the thrones, Where men, men, on their palace walls Cause crowned heads to tremble once again, For heroes! Look not there. 'Tis not from them,

But from the million toilers of the earth, Shall come the heroes of these latter days.

The time is great. We want no weaklings now.

To lead us on to life's great victory, But men both strong and stern who know no fear,

Saw fear to do a wrong; who learned to face Unfading, long ago, what's worse than death,

A life which is the death of mind and soul. Face unfading and to conquer it;

And cry to millions in despair, "Take heart! We've found the way to help, and hope, and life,

To feed our starving babes, to lift our wives From the foul air of filthy tenements To the pure atmosphere of joy and love. There's hope—there's help—God's justice is our strength,

And reason is the sword with which she sweeps To death and to oblivion all her foes."

The time is great. We will not little be, Caworthy sons of such a mighty age; We'll fight, we'll die for justice, and we'll win Freedom for both the tyrant and the slave.

Fiction, Ont.

E. JOHNSON.

THE COMMON SENSE OF THE TARIFF QUESTION.

BY THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

Speech before Nineteenth Century Club, April 10, 1886.

The system of restrictive and fettered commerce, which is miscalled by the name "protection," is excusable to precisely the same extent and upon precisely the same grounds as the system of human slavery. When that system flourished in this country, statesmen, philosophers, merchants, lawyers, orthodox Christian clergymen and avowed atheists joined hands all over the land in its defense, ranging all the way from excuses in mitigation to triumphal justification and unqualified approval. The great argument by which it was sustained at the north, within my own distinct recollection, was that the questions involved in the abolition of slavery were so enormously complicated and required such superhuman wisdom to solve them, that it was hopeless for ordinary men and women to undertake to pass upon them at all. More than two-thirds of the northern people believed that immediate emancipation would be a worse evil than slavery itself.

IS THE QUESTION COMPLICATED?

In just the same way and for the same reasons, an undoubted majority of American people believe that the abstract question of free trade is too complicated for them to decide, and that the immediate and unconditional abolition of the entire protective system would be a greater evil than protection itself. I deny both propositions, and assert that the question is perfectly simple, and that the immediate and unconditional abolition of every shred of protection would be the greatest blessing to this country which has ever befallen it, except the Declaration of Independence, the formation of the federal constitution and the abolition of slavery. I maintain, moreover, that the immediate establishment of perfect free trade would be the greatest blessing to the manufacturing interests of this country, taken as a whole, which could possibly be conferred upon them.

WHAT IS FREE TRADE?

What is there so complicated about this issue? By free trade we mean nothing more than that we shall all be allowed to buy and sell across one side of Sandy hook, just as freely as we can on the other. There is a little strip of barren sand—turn your face toward the west and you are at liberty to buy and sell at your heart's content. Turn your face toward the east, and if you persist in buying and selling, the United States government stations its officers with instructions to murder you in cold blood. I say to murder you, not merely to fine you or imprison you—that is altogether an under statement of the case. If any foreign vessel, large or small, undertook to deliver goods to you on the eastern side of Sandy hook, a revenue cutter would promptly fire upon it, without giving you the option of paying duties. If you persevered in taking out goods and restricted the marines who would be speedily called to seize you, they would kill you, as a matter of course...

WHAT IS PROTECTION?

No one asserts that free trade in and of itself does anything affirmatively for any one. There is no magic about it, no philosopher's stone, no alchemy. It simply recognizes the fact that men have to make their own living, and that no power outside of themselves and the ordinary forces of nature will or can do anything for them. Protection is founded upon the theory that the collective wisdom of congress can manage our business better than we can manage it ourselves, and that a conference committee, meeting at midnight on the last day of the session, has wisdom enough to tell the people of the United States where to buy their pig iron, their glass bottles, their wool and their clothing, to greater advantage than the people themselves can do. In the last conference committee of this kind the balance of power was held by the distinguished Virginian senator, William Mahone. And if it had not been for the wisdom of this illustrious man, no one knows what ruinous purchases might have been made abroad by the American people during the last five years.

THE FREE TRADE IDEA.

The free trader prefers not only that he himself, but that every citizen of the United States should manage his business in his own way, without the guidance and supervision of

Senator Mahone or even of Judge Kelley. He believes also in the truth of the homely maxima, "Give and take," "Live and let live." "A fair exchange is no robbery," "Do unto others as you would do unto you." He believes that there can be no honest trade without a profit on both sides, each parting with something which he does not very much want in order to receive something which he does very much want. He believes that every man must earn his living by the use of his own brain and arm, and, therefore, that he can receive no possible benefit from having either of his arms tied up, or from being prohibited from dealing in trade with other honest men.

THE PROTECTIVE IDEA.

The fundamental idea of protection is that the industry of our people can be advantageously diverted by the legislature into channels through which it would not naturally flow. This is the definition given by Professor Robert E. Thompson and other leading protectionists; and it is a very fair one. The free trader believes that human industry, like other natural effort and like water, will find its own best channels if left alone; that however imperfect the judgment of each individual may be, and however much he may be benefited by listening to advice and suggestion, it is, nevertheless, impossible for any human government to drive him out of the channel of industry which he has selected into another which he does not like and will only undertake when forced to do so, without injury not only to the producer himself, but to the whole community.

THE QUESTION SIMPLE.

The question is really exceedingly simple. Is there any person who will admit that congress can manage his business better than he can himself, or can even lay down general rules for his guidance, which if he is compelled to follow, will not result in his disadvantage? Is there any woman who will for a moment admit that congress, whether made up of men or women, can pass any law regulating the kind of brooms which shall be used to sweep her carpet, the kind of cups from which she shall drink her tea, the kind of cloth which she shall have on her table, the kind of clothing which her children shall wear, the kind of bedding on which she shall sleep and the kind of window through which she shall look from her house, more wisely than she can herself? Is there any woman who will even admit that congress can do these things for her most stupid female neighbor, with the least advantage? But, if you believe that congress cannot do these things for any one of you, what makes you believe so firmly that congress can do all these things, and more, for sixty millions of you? Does that which is folly and absurdity, when applied to one person, become supreme wisdom when applied to sixty million persons?

THE WISDOM OF CONGRESS.

Yet this is precisely what congress does for all of you, for each one, individually; and for the whole sixty millions of American people. It makes it literally impossible for nine-tenths of the American people to sleep under foreign blankets, to walk upon a foreign carpet, to dress themselves or their children in foreign clothing, or to eat their food off a foreign plate. Suppose that it were true that the American-made articles in all these cases were better than the foreign articles. Who is to judge of this? Would any woman submit her purchases to the inspection and final judgment of the illustrious Senator Mahone, or would she prefer to take the judicial opinion of our venerable but infirm friend, Judge Kelley?

The burden of proof then lies upon the protectionists, as their ablest advocate, Professor Thompson, admits; and they ought to make out a simple and plain case. Let us ask briefly what they have to say for themselves. "FREE TRADE ONLY A THEORY."

They say that free trade is a mere theory; and, generally, they say that it is sound enough in theory but will not work in practice. This is a palpable absurdity. Every sound theory works well in practice; if it will not work in practice it is not correct in theory.

The truth is that free trade is really the universal practice of all men of sense in their own affairs. It is now the universal practice of every really civilized nation within its own borders. It is only in benighted or barbarous countries like Turkey, Mexico and some Asiatic countries that any nation can be found which does not have internal free trade. Germany is often pointed out, with most ridiculous inconsistency, as an example of the benefits of protection, on account of its greatly increased prosperity since the establishment of the Zollverein. The Zollverein was really a free trade measure; that is to say, it established entire free trade within the boundaries of northern Germany, abolishing all tariffs between the different states and reducing the tariff even upon strictly foreign goods in most of those states. The establishment of the federal tariff in the United States, in 1789, is constantly referred to as a proof of the benefits of protection, whereas it is certain that in similar cases the result of such a change in the tariff has been, not only to destroy the whole manufacture to which they were entirely unaccustomed. But what of that, provided some rich man in Connecticut or Rhode Island could, at the end of two years, get his mill going and have a monopoly of the market for his products? I do not know how it was in this particular case, but it is certain that in similar cases the result of such a change in the tariff has been, not only to destroy the whole manufacture to which they were entirely unaccustomed. But what does congress know about this? How can they intelligently decide for the merchants of New York whether they will make more profit by dealing with London or with Philadelphia? Let the merchants manage this matter for themselves. They will stop foreign trade quick enough if it is unprofitable.

DESTRUCTION OF AMERICAN SHIPPING AND COMMERCE.

Perhaps no better illustration of the way in which such laws now work can be found than in the shipping business. American ship owners secured from congress an absolute monopoly of American ships and of the coasting trade. It was impossible for them to secure this monopoly without also conceding to American ship builders a monopoly of the right to build all ships which should sail under the American flag. But in their turn, the ship builders could not secure this monopoly without conceding to the pig iron men of Pennsylvania a heavy tax upon foreign iron and steel. What is the result? The ship owners of the United States have seen their business almost perish, while the largest and oldest shipping houses have gone absolutely out of existence. The commerce of America has fallen almost entirely into foreign hands.

The ship builders, in their turn, have found their monopoly a barren gift, seeing their business shrink and fade into nothing, for the simple reason that they are not allowed to have iron and steel on the same terms as their foreign competitors. Had all the duties on iron and steel and all navigation laws been repealed together thirty years ago, the ship builders of Maine would have imported cheap iron from Glasgow, and would today have been building three times as many ships as would have been built upon the Clyde. American ships would have completed that triumph over all foreign rivals to which they were rapidly approaching under an era of low tariffs and before the substitution of iron for wood. That substitution would have done them no harm whatever, had they been allowed to procure the iron upon the same terms as their rivals, and the great superiority of American enterprise and American ship building skill would have more than counterbalanced the cost of freight upon British iron. With free iron and free ships New York also would have been lined with ship building and ship repairing yards, and

more highly than the finished manufacturer. In a number of cases the tax upon the crude material is fixed at a rate two or three times as high as that upon the finished article. This has been especially the case with regard to woolen manufactures. It has been shown again and again, by the testimony of experienced manufacturers, that in many cases a tax of 100 per cent is imposed upon the wool out of which articles are made, which, when finished, are taxed only 60 per cent. The truth is that every tariff is a kind of grab bag, into which duties of 10, 20, 50, 100 and 150 per cent are thrown at random; and the man with the longest arm and the greatest persistence and impudence succeeds in thrusting his hand first and securing the best prize. Thus the tax upon one size of glass is only 20 per cent, while the duty upon another size of precisely the same article is 120 per cent. The duty upon one kind of wool is 30 per cent; and the duty upon another kind, equally necessary, is 100 per cent. The duty upon the rich man's grade of woolen cloth is about 60 per cent; but the duty upon the poor man's grade of woolen cloth is 150 per cent. Articles intended for wearing apparel of women and children are, by an express provision of law, taxed much higher than articles of the same general nature which are used only by men. When that famous conference committee, of which Judge Kelley and Senator Mahone, were the ruling spirits, ground out the tariff bill of 1883, which was blindly adopted by a Congress, knowing next to nothing about its contents, they raised the tax upon glass bottles to three times its former amount, while reducing the amount of other kinds of glass by a small fraction, and increased the tax on iron ore, while reducing it on iron. In the final adjustment of every tariff, taxes are put up or put down, without the slightest regard to the needs of the revenue, the interests of the people, or even the interests of manufacturers in general, but solely in accordance with the dictation of a few rich men, who are personally interested in taxing their fellow citizens under the guise of a tariff. The idea of reason or public consideration having anything to do with the settlement of such questions is something which, to an experienced congressman, is inexplicably ridiculous.

The truth is, that the framing of a really protective tariff would require superhuman wisdom. When such a tariff is let down from heaven, like the great goddess Diana, we will be consistent if we ought also to have proposed to cut off all trade with San Francisco, which in that was three times as far off, in point of time, as London. But consistency is not and never can be the virtue of a protectionist. We shall not however trouble ourselves upon this point because the fallacy of the whole argument is apparent, on a moment's thought. Mr. Carey's remedy for the supposed evil of the slow interchange of traffic between New York and London is to cut it off. Upon the same principle, since the blood undoubtedly requires a longer time to circulate from the heart to the toes than it does from the heart to the head, we should cut off our feet in order to make our circulation more rapid.

THE TARIFF DESTRUCTIVE TO INDUSTRY.

No increase can be made in the tariff taxes upon any single article, without immediately destroying some industry at home, because, even though such a tax may encourage the production of that particular article in this country, that production cannot possibly increase instantly to an extent sufficient to supply the home demand, while the foreign article is instantly, to some extent, shut out. If this increase lasts for three months, that will suffice to put an absolute end to some branch of useful industry, in which this article is a necessity, and even when the domestic supply of the taxed article increases, it may be too late to revive the original domestic industry. Thus, in 1883, a surreptitious increase of taxation upon certain fine cottons was made, with the expectation of introducing the freedom of "societary circulation" by restricting the freedom of that circulation in any particular direction, whether to Europe or to China, is just as absurd as would be a proposition to bandage an artery in the human body in order to make the blood move faster within its limited scope. The blood will take care of itself, if you leave it alone; and so trade and society circulation will take care of themselves if you leave them alone. If foreign trade is slower than domestic trade, it will not be resorted to, unless it also produces advantages sufficiently greater than domestic trade to compensate for this slowness. If it is possible, as Mr. Carey insists, for us to make thirty profits upon thirty daily transactions between New York and Philadelphia, while we can only make one profit in a single transaction between New York and London, then we can only make one profit in a single transaction between New York and London. This work could not be accomplished in less than from twenty to eighteen months. Meanwhile, the enormous increase of taxation upon the foreign article shut it out from our markets, and thus instantly threw out of employment about three thousand women employed in this city of New York in making ruffles; because, if the material for their work had been imported, the new tax would have made it cost more than the ruffles were worth when finished. Accordingly, foreign ruffles were imported, made by foreign workwomen, while American workwomen were thrown out of employment and compelled to seek for their bread in some line of work to which they were entirely unaccustomed. But what does congress know about this? What does congress know about this? How can they intelligently decide for the merchants of New York whether they will make more profit by dealing with London or with Philadelphia? Let the merchants manage this matter for themselves. They will stop foreign trade quick enough if it is unprofitable.

WAGES.

All the fine arguments are now ignored by the practical men who have assumed the lead; and they are never weary of stating that the whole question is one of wages. As Senator Frye stated in his Brooklyn speech, capital needs no protection, and if wages in Europe coupled with the price of food here, were to be manufactured or imported and to be fitted up in new mills or extensions of mills. This work could not be accomplished in less than from twenty to eighteen months. Meanwhile, the enormous increase of taxation upon the foreign article shut it out from our markets, and thus instantly threw out of employment about three thousand women employed in this city of New York in making ruffles; because, if the material for their work had been imported, the new tax would have made it cost more than the ruffles were worth when finished. Accordingly, foreign ruffles were imported, made by foreign workwomen, while American workwomen were thrown out of employment and compelled to seek for their bread in some line of work to which they were entirely unaccustomed. But what does congress know about this? What does congress know about this? How can they intelligently decide for the merchants of New York whether they will make more profit by dealing with London or with Philadelphia? Let the merchants manage this matter for themselves. They will stop foreign trade quick enough if it is unprofitable.

THE TARIFF LOWEST IN "PROTECTED" COUNTRIES.

Before discussing this question on theory, let us look at the facts. Spain, Italy and Mexico in Europe, and Paterson, New Jersey, in this country, have the highest wages. These being settled and incontrovertible facts, it may now be permissible even for a protectionist to examine the underlying facts by a little theory. The truth is that high wages never are and never can be paid, except to workers who are capable of making a large relative production, and the higher the worker's wages the larger other things being equal, is his employer's profits. Brooklyn's boss carpenters pay their men \$3 a day, not out of mere sentiment or sympathy, although they could find thousands of carpenters in the country districts of New York and New Jersey who would be very glad to come and work for them for \$2 a day. The reason why they pay \$3 a day is that, roughly stated, the \$3 men turn out \$4 worth of work, while the \$2 men can barely turn out the worth of \$2.50. High wages, at all the world over, mean cheap labor; and low wages mean expensive and unprofitable labor.

AMERICAN LABOR CHEAPEST IN THE WORLD.

The short of the matter is that employers in the United States of America have really the cheapest labor in the world. They make larger profits upon the wage paid by the workers than any other manufacturers in the globe, and those employers who pay the highest wages are precisely those who make the largest profits. A few figures may serve to illustrate this general and undeniable truth.

By repeated tests it has been shown that the wages actually paid in the great German center of Cretefeld to the silk weavers of the district amount to over 60 per cent of the whole value of the goods, while the whole amount of wages paid for the production of similar goods in Paterson, New Jersey, amounts to less than 30 per cent of the value. Yet wages in Paterson are much more than twice as high as in Cretefeld. Again, to compare different parts of the country, the wages in the cotton manufacture of Massachusetts averaged \$2.50, but the net production amounted to \$5.52; the wages paid in New York were \$2.16, but the net production was only \$3.01; the wages paid in the woolen manufacture in Massachusetts were \$3.16, but the net production was \$7.57; the wages paid in New York were \$2.50, but the net production was only \$5.57; the wages paid in Ohio were \$1.92, but the net production was only \$4.19. Of course there is no exact ratio running through all these industries by which any one can say with certainty that for every difference of 2 per cent in wages there will be a difference of 2 per cent in production, but these figures are sufficient to establish beyond all doubt the general law. In view of these general facts and of many others, for which we have no time, I do not hesitate to say that the continental manufacturers are right in saying that, if any country needs protection against another, the country in which low wages are paid is the one which needs protection against the production of any country which pays high wages.

DIVERSITY OF INDUSTRIES.

There remains the argument that protection is necessary to secure a diversification of industries.

This diversification of industries is constantly spoken of as though it were some ideal blessing in and of itself, and absolutely essential to the enjoyment of intelligence, prosperity and high wages. In point of fact, it is of very little importance and of small influence in connection with the rest of these things. Let us drop them, and look at the facts.

So far as high wages are concerned, what is there to show that these are necessary or probable results of the diversification of industries? It is easy to spin an abstract theory on the subject, but common experience shows that wages are apt to be highest in precisely those countries in which some one industry flourishes as an absorbing occupation, and where industries are for natural reasons less diversified. Wages were never higher in California than when it had but one industry, the pursuit of gold. Since numerous industries have developed in California, assuming the character of Australia, Colorado and other districts producing precious metals.

We none of us find that it is necessary to diversify our industries in order to secure intelligence or prosperity. On the other hand, the man who concentrates himself most upon one pursuit is apt to attain the greatest success.

INDUSTRIES DIVERSITY FASTER WITHOUT PROTECTION.

Nevertheless, there are certain advantages arising from the diversification of industries, both with men and with nations. The man gains relief from monotony by changing to some extent, his daily pursuits; and the nation very likely gains a similar benefit upon its part. But there is not the least trouble about attaining such a diversification. It comes by natural causes, if we pursue natural methods.

It is a consequence, not a cause, of prosperity and increasing population. No prosperous nation can avoid diversifying its industries. They diversify themselves. It is simply impossible for any considerable number of people to live near together without various industries springing up for their ac-

tions.

United States are greater than the differences between the average American wages and the average English wages in the same occupations. The census of 1880 proves this in a most striking manner.

Thus the average annual wages of carpenters in Brooklyn were \$683 in New York, \$216, and in North Carolina only \$126.

In the woolen manufacture, wages in Massachusetts were \$346; in New York, \$283, and in Ohio, \$193.

In wool hats

commodation, unless some artificial method is established to repress them; and consequently we might reasonably expect to find that national industries diversify themselves more rapidly under free trade than under protection; because under free trade the people are left to gain prosperity in their own way; and as their wealth increases their wants will also increase; and it is this increase of wants which leads to a diversification of industry.

PROTECTION KILLS INDUSTRY.

On the other hand, the direct and inevitable result of protection is always to kill some industries, while there is no certainty that it will make any others live. This may seem a paradox, and which are really true? The theory will show that it is absolutely true. The very aim and object of every protective duty is to kill some industry. When a new protective duty is levied its immediate and intended result is to put an end to the importation of some foreign article; and this it does, if sufficiently heavy. But numerous persons are engaged in the industry of shipping and commerce, in connection with the importation of the article. They are therefore discharged from employment. Many of these are engaged in our own country in the further manufacture and development of the imported article. Their industry is killed forthwith. These effects are instantaneous; but the expected further effect of encouraging the production of the same article in our own country cannot possibly be instantaneous. On the contrary, the successful production of an equal amount of the same article by home manufacturers can seldom be attained in less than three or four years. During all this time the foreign article is to a large extent shut out, perhaps absolutely excluded, from our markets. The industries which depended upon its use are killed; and they cannot be revived until American factories have been built, American machinery made, and American workmen trained or foreigners imported to produce the article in this country. This latter result may be accomplished. But it is not always so. Recently I have heard myself a senator of the United States say to a body of manufacturers with whom manifest concurrence that certain increased duties had been levied in the hope of establishing a manufacture in this country, but that they had entirely failed to do so, and that not a yard of the article was made in America. This meant, of course, that a considerable amount of the foreign article had been taken out of the high duty, and that there had been no substitute provided by the American manufacturer. In other words, that, to some extent, a valuable home industry had been killed and none put in its place.

AMERICAN INDUSTRIES DIVERSIFIED BY FREE TRADE.

The history of these United States before the revolution is a most convincing proof of the irresistible tendency of every growing country to diversify its own industries with sufficient rapidity without any help from tariffs or from any form of protection. With-

out any such assistance, and even in spite of malignant laws passed for the purpose of preventing such diversification, by those English protectionists from whose wardrobe we have borrowed the old cast cloots and old rotten rags of the protective system, the thirteen colonies rapidly developed manufactures of iron, of glass, of wooden cloth, and of nearly every other article which they needed. Before the revolution, three-fourths of the manufactures in this country were made at home, and the northeastern colonies exported more iron than they imported—a state of things which has never existed since they were blessed with a protective tariff of my kind whatever.

WESTERN INDUSTRIES DIVERSIFYING WITHOUT PROTECTION.

Precisely the same evolution of domestic industry takes place under free systems as in the present day. The great west is not protected by tariff or otherwise against eastern competition; although the eastern states have had all the advantages as against the west which are claimed to exist in favor of England against ourselves. The east had originally all the capital. It had all the skilled workmen. It had lower rates of wages. It had all the opportunities of experience in manufacturing and business in its state in the race. Nevertheless the western states, with no capital, no experienced employers or workmen, and no protection, have rapidly gained upon the east, until now two-thirds of the iron manufacturers, and an immense proportion of all other manufacturers, have drifted west of the Allegheny mountains. Mr. Nimm, an eminent protectionist authority, I have seen, dwelt with great emphasis upon this fact, in his speech in which he said that, between 1860 and 1880, manufactures increased only at the rate of 14 per cent in the east, while they increased at the rate of 33 per cent in the west.

THE LESS PROTECTION THE MORE DIVERSIFICATION.

Moreover, it is to be especially noted that this increase in the number of western industries and development of western manufactures has been more and more rapid, in proportion as the natural protection which was secured to the west by long distances and expensive methods of conveyance, has disappeared. Sixty years ago it cost \$80 per ton to transport pig iron from New York to Pittsburgh. It can now be transported for less than \$8 per ton. The result has been, that Pittsburgh manufactures were ruined by competition with New York and Philadelphia, but on the contrary, that the manufacture has developed enormously at Pittsburgh, while it is in a moribund state in the east.

PROSPERITY INCREASED AS PROTECTOR REDUCED.

All arguments of this kind are usually answered by an absolute appeal to the general prosperity of the United States under a protective tariff, and by utterly untrue statements as to the depression and disasters which followed the enactment of low tariffs. The truth is, as any one can ascertain by looking at official records, that our most rapid progress was made under the low tariffs which existed from 1789 to 1800 and from 1847 to 1851, and that during these periods there was a harmonious and rapid development of agriculture, manufactures, commerce and shipping, side by side, and some injuring the others, which has been entirely unknown under any high tariff. High tariffs have always crippled our shipping interests, and have utterly failed to accelerate the development of our manufactures. During the last twenty years, however, the effect of our enormous high tariff has been in a very large measure neutralized by the rapid decline of freight, both at sea and on land. Here again the significant results are shown by the development of our states. So far as they are concerned, the continued decline in sea and land freights has more than neutralized all the additional protection given to their manufactures by the high tariff of 1861. Many British manufacturers can be taken from London to Chicago at a less cost in both freight and duties than they would have cost in freight alone before the war. The result is that the trade was of any advantage to the west has been, and is constantly diminishing for thirty years past; and yet, the faster the walls of protection were thus broken down, the faster

have the manufactures of the west increased and developed.

THE THEORY WHICH FITS THE FACTS.

It only remains to be asked, upon what theory the undersigned fits the facts that the manufacturers themselves have thus flourished more and more, as protection was taken away, can be accounted for. The explanation is really simple, if we only adhere to facts. It is a fact, no matter what the reason may be, that the imports of this country always have consisted, and always will consist, whether under a low tariff, under a high tariff or under absolute free trade, mainly of either food or material articles indispensable for consumption, and which are easily produced and can only be used, for the purpose of further manufacture. More than three-fourths of all the duties which are imposed by the present tariff upon manufactures, are levied upon goods which are imported exclusively for American manufacturers, and could not be used by anyone else. They have to bear all this burden in the first instance; and although they charge the cost of the duties together with a profit to their customers, this additional cost limits the number of sales which contracts their market, makes it impossible for them to export, to any appreciable extent, and prevents them from developing and extending their manufactures as they would do under absolute free trade. The protective system is, therefore, in reality a burden upon manufacturers, taken collectively, a hindrance to the diversification of our national industries. It operates continuously to depress wages. It makes every farmer's profits of what he has in view in productive power, it turns the commerce of our country exclusively into foreign hands; it has nearly destroyed our shipping; and the only reason why it has failed to inflict far greater disasters upon us than we have already suffered is that nature and human industry and ingenuity constantly circumvent the restrictions of every tariff, and that, in spite of the plans of our quack doctors to bandage our arteries, the blood still finds its way, though somewhat feverishly, through every part of the body politic.

WHY HE IS A FREE TRADER.

A SHOE MANUFACTURER WHO WAS A PROTECTIONIST UNTIL HE REALIZED WHAT IT MEANT.

A shoe manufacturer of this city, who employs between four and five hundred people, told a party of friends last Friday evening why he is now a free trader:

"I have been for many years," he said, "a protectionist, because, as I had been told, the tariff duties, from the manufacturers' standpoint, kept up prices. Well, a month or so ago a buyer for a large firm in our line in Brazil came to New York and brought a letter to me. Of course I paid him considerable attention, took him to my house, and we became well acquainted. One day I said to him:

"What is the objection you South Americans have to trading with us?

"We do not object to trading with you," answered the Brazilian; "in fact, the Brazilians would prefer to trade with the United States if they could do so on favorable terms as with the English."

"Wherein are the English terms more favorable than ours would be?" I asked.

"Oh, well," he answered, "they probably do not pay so much for their labor, and as a consequence you can undersell us."

"I thought over his last words, they worried me. I thought to myself, if that obstacle could be removed I might come in for an order. I talked with my superintendent, my foremen and with some of my hands about the matter of wages, and how our higher priced labor made it impossible, for me to do business with our southern neighbors. One of my foremen gave me a pointer, which was that shoe workers in this country did more work in a day, owing to our improved machinery, than they did in the old country, and that when I came to find out the amount of work done for, say, a dollar in this country and England, I would see that, if anything, the shoe worker here gets less for his work than the shoe worker across the water."

"If that was so—and upon investigation I found it was—I concluded I ought to be able to come pretty near getting an order from my friend from Brazil. So at the next opportunity I told him that if he had any loose orders he wanted filled I would like to figure on them. He had one, and a large one, that he had intended forwarding on to England, but if I could fill it at the English figure I could have it."

"It was for fine French calfskin shoes—genuine French calfskin—the kind of calfskin which only the French appear to be able to make. Well, I figured and figured away, with the assistance of the superintendent and foremen, and I got the labor item way down fine, and I put the calfskin and material in at cost, for I wanted to get the order it. I could determine upon a line of policy.

The committee appointed is a good one, and I see no reason why the meeting should not be a grand success.

STANZAS.

Christopher Pearse Cranch.
Thought is deeper than all speech,
Feeling deeper than all thought;
Souls to souls can never teach
What unto themselves was taught.

We are spirits clad in veils;
Man by man was never seen;
All our deep communing fails
To remove the shadowy screen.

Heart to heart was never known;
Mind with mind need never meet;
We are columns left alone
Of a temple once complete.

Like the stars that gem the sky,
Far apart though seeming near,
In our light we scattered lie;
All is thus but starlight here.

What is social company?
But a babbling summer stream!
What our wise philosophy?
But the glancing of a dream!

Only when the sun of love
Meets the scattered stars of thought,
Only when we live above
What the dim-eyed world hath taught.

Only when our souls are fed
By the fountain which gave them birth,
And by inspiration led
Which they never drew from earth,

We, like parted drops of rain,
Swelling till they meet and run,
Shall be all absorbed again,
Melted, flowing into one.

THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE.

Letters from Mr. La Shelle and Mr. Williams.

CHICAGO, April 8.—All those who contemplate attending the national conference of single tax advocates to be held in this city July 4 will confer a great favor on the committee by notifying the secretary of their intentions as soon as possible. The work of the committee will be made much easier if it may know about how many visitors to expect. Where a number of persons will come from any club or organization let the names be given. Where there is no concerted action it is requested that each person will write saying that he will come. This will enable the committee to proceed in its arrangements intelligently, and also be a great aid in bringing the conference prominently before the local public. Address all letters to

M. K. LA SHELL,
Secretary Provisional Committee,
Times Building, Chicago, Ill.

VINCENNES, Ind., April 9.—On the 23d of February I issued a circular letter inviting the friends of the single tax clause to join me in a request to Warren W. Bailey of Chicago to appoint a committee on arrangements and issue a call for a national convention of single tax advocates, to convene on the 4th of July. Since the circular was issued I have received more than a thousand letters on the subject. I could not find time to answer all of these, and I wish, through THE STANDARD, to apologize for this neglect.

"We do not object to trading with you," answered the Brazilian; "in fact, the Brazilians would prefer to trade with the United States if they could do so on favorable terms as with the English."

"Wherein are the English terms more favorable than ours would be?" I asked.

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PERSONAL.

Caroline Herschel, who discovered eight comets, couldn't remember the multiplication table.

The queen of England speaks German in her home circle, while English is the family language of the German, Russian, Greek and Danish imperial and royal houses.

Mr. Labouchere says that the prime minister of India is weak, both mentally and physically, that in less exalted circles he would be regarded as being within measurable distance of idiocy.

Algonquin Charles Swinburne, the poet, is described as a man of very poor physique, with narrow, round shoulders and a chest that is not worth mentioning. His hair is flaring red, and is usually unkept.

The next time my buyer friend and I met at the office I told him what we would fill the order for.

"His answer was, 'Too high.'

"I thought he must be mistaken, and I pointed out to him what I have explained to you, but he assured me that the same order had been given time and again in England and that the figure had always been so."

"I confess I was astonished. I knew that we had figured the labor down to below the English rate, and the materials had been put at cost. I would have to get them from precisely the same country as my English competitors, so I couldn't understand. The order went on its way. The more I thought over it the madder I got. Finally I determined to probe the matter to the core, to get to the bottom of the mystery, and to determine what was causing the difference."

Not many years ago a good American went to London. His name was G. W. Smalley, and his station that of correspondent for the New York Tribune. In these respects he remains unchanged. But in other characteristics he has undergone a curious metamorphosis.—(Toronto Globe.)

Bismarck's habits and hours are shocking to old fashioned people. The prince goes to bed at 2 a.m. and gets up at noon. He eats supper at midnight in company with Princess Bismarck and the Count and Countess Rantzau. In Bismarck's bedroom a light is always kept burning, messages being often delivered to him in the night.

Miss Leopold Beck of Chicago, at a recent meeting of the local land and labor club, announced that she had received two requests for contributions to the cause of the working-class, which she had not claimed to have any knowledge of. The first was a contribution from the National Labor Union, and the second was a contribution from the Knights of Labor.

D. S. Macdonald of Parkdale, Canada, sets an example to single tax men by getting inserted in the Parkdale Times, in addition to an account of a meeting of his society, a clear statement of the aims and principles of the movement. He says that his society was formed by earnest canvassing on the part of members of the central society, which meets at Association hall, on Young street, and that it is doing prosperously.

Stirring Things Up in the Fatherland.

Deutschland, Berlin, Germany.

Mr. H. P. A. Bauer, editor in chief of the Coblenzer Zeitung, sends out a circular to the Catholic press wherein he offers for ten marks a series of four popular articles, each one hundred pages long, in which he combats the idea of the nationalization of the land. He says in the circular: "It is well known that the dangerous doctrines of the American, Henry George, advocated in his book, 'Progress and Poverty,' are being spread here in Germany by the manufacturer Flursheim in his Journal, Deutschland,

already a land liga is established to carry on the propaganda for their real socialist ideas; there has also appeared a literature on this question."

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SPIRIT PHENOMENA.

I am not a spiritualist, and my experience with what are called spirit phenomena is very limited, but I have had enough such experience to appreciate the absurdity of current exposures of mediums and to be disposed to the belief that there is, perhaps, an unknown force that operates in at least some so called spirit manifestations. I have a vivid recollection, to begin with, of the wonderful stories which an elderly but muscular and incredulous relative used to tell of the way in which he was dragged around his own room in the early days of spiritualism by a table he was trying to hold. There was no discernible human agency except the contact of a medium's hand with the surface of the table, so he said, and I do not believe he misrepresent. If it had been a case of rapping or slate writing I might suppose he was deceived, but I cannot believe he merely imagined that he was dragged about the room in the way he described. Either he falsified or he was an actor in a remarkable occurrence for which there is no known explanation. I know that he did not falsify.

Fraud is frequently practiced in the name of spiritualism, but so far as my experience goes it is very transparent fraud. About eight years ago I visited a materializing medium, accompanied by a friend. My friend, though not a performer, was a student of legerdemain and expert at the detection of sleight of hand. We went upon this expedition for the fun there might be in it, neither of us having had any previous experience in spiritualism other than of the table rapping and slate writing kind. On arriving at the materializing medium's quarters we found a small company waiting for the performance to begin. An open cabinet stood between the two street windows and the visitors were invited to inspect it. It was about three feet wide and two deep, and utterly destitute of any contrivance, so far as I could see. At the appointed hour the company were asked to sit in a semi-circle some ten feet away from the cabinet, clasping hands. The lights were put out, and a small oil lamp, turned low, was placed in the rear of the room, its dim light made dimmer with a red shade. The medium, a young man, pulled a black curtain, part of the drapery of one side of the cabinet, across one window, and another black curtain, part of the drapery of the other side of the cabinet, across the other window. He explained that this was to keep out the street light.

Having thus completed his arrangements, the medium entered the cabinet, drawing a curtain across the front of it, and for a few minutes one of the visitors played the piano. Then the spirits came. In the dim, reddish light, I could just distinguish a floating figure in white. It glided past me, almost touching me, and I might have touched it; but when I tried to release my hands to do so my neighbors on either side tightened their grasp. The manifestations continued in this way for some minutes. One spirit would retire into the cabinet and another would come out, the piano being played between the exits and entrances.

But after a while the programme was changed. The ruling spirit, an Indian chief, began to talk, and finally called sitters in the circle, one at a time, up to the cabinet. I was among the chosen ones. As I left my chair I determined to grab the spirit if it came near enough to me; but I miscalculated my opportunity. The ceremonies were presided over by a perfect amazon of a woman. She was nearly six feet tall and stout in proportion, with a gait like a vice. Taking my right hand in her right and my left in her left, she standing on my left side, she had what would have been an advantage in a struggle with a stronger man than I. Shortly a spirit appeared. I was incredulous. I had been all along. But as the features of the spirit which approached with a swaying movement to within a foot and a half of me, became clearer in outline, I recognized my friend's dead wife. So positive was the recognition that my incredulity vanished in spite of me, and I was about to speak, when my amazon custodian informed me in a stage whisper that I was face to face with the spirit of Dr. Kane. Then my incredulity returned, to be irreversibly confirmed when "Dr. Kane," waving his hand by way of parting gesture, disclosed to my sight a white muslin bandage wrapped about his hand precisely as before the performance I had observed the medium's hand was wrapped.

When we left the room of the medium my friend asked my opinion, and I told him it was a fraud, at the same time giving him my experience. "Of course it is a fraud," he said; "I detected that at once. The room was darkened to give a ghostly appearance to the figures. The curtains were pulled across the windows, not to keep out the street light, but to make two dressing rooms for the medium. If you could have got behind those curtains you would have found a space of more than a foot between them and the wall, and would have seen masks and robes hanging from them. The piano was played to drown any noise which the medium might accidentally make in effecting his changes. It is the simplest form of trickery."

This is the kind of exhibition which the rough and ready exposers of spiritualism witness if we are to judge by the transparent character of the performances they describe. But there are mediumistic exhibitions which, supposing them to be produced by the skill of the magician, are not so easily exposed, and for which the usual explanations, good enough for fraudulent performances of the kind I have just described, are no explanations at all. One of these I witnessed shortly prior to my introduction to "the spirit of Dr. Kane."

I had been told of a man named Phillips who was a wonderful slate writing medium. Having never seen any spirit slate writing I determined to get an hour's amusement out of Phillips. Professing to be a reporter, I asked for some tests for publication. There is no reasonable prob-

ability that he had ever seen or heard of me. Seating me at a small table in the center of the room, he took a position about ten feet away, after telling me to write a name on each of several pieces of paper, and upon writing it to roll the paper up into a pellet. I followed his instructions, and having lost a near relative, naturally wrote her name (Mary Brown) upon one of the slips. I made fourteen or fifteen pellets, each with a name, some fictitious, some of living people and some dead people.

The pellets were bunched on the center of the table, Phillips stepped up and shuffled them with his fingers. If there was any sleight of hand it was there, for at no other time was he within ten feet of the table. I may add here that we had no conversation and no "pumping" was done. That I remember distinctly, for I went expecting and prepared to be "pumped."

Having retired to his former position after shuffling the pellets, Phillips told me to take them up one at a time and if I heard one or two raps on the table to lay the pellet down, but if I heard three to hold it. One by one I took the pellets up, but no raps came until I had picked up the seventh or eighth, when three distinct raps were made on the top of the table and directly under my hand. I am prepared to believe that all this was a trick and unwilling to believe that any spirit was an actor in the affair, but no one can make me believe that Phillips made those raps with his knee joints or his toe joints or his finger nails. They were made directly upon the table and directly under my hand. Unless the table was a trick table the raps were made by some occult force, and if it was a trick table I do not understand how he produced similar raps under similar conditions on a stranger's table, in a stranger's house, as he subsequently did.

When the medium heard the raps he came forward, and, sitting in front of me while I held the pellet in my hand, he wrote the name of the relative whom I had recently lost—"Mary Brown." Upon unrolling the pellet it proved to be the particular one on which I had written Mary Brown's name.

It seemed remarkable to me that this stranger, whether by trick or not, should have selected that particular name for his test. It was remarkable that he should have known which pellet to indicate by the raps. It was remarkable that he was able to make the raps at all. I do not accept the spiritual explanation, but I am quite as positively compelled to reject all the anti-spiritual explanations. I have ever read or heard of this phase of mediumship.

At the same interview Phillips made "tests" even more wonderful; but as we entered into general conversation after the first experiment, prior to which we had not conversed at all, I am not so sure that there was no "pumping" for the other experiments.

Impressed with the mystery of Phillips's exhibition, I related it in detail to my friend who so readily discovered and explained the materializing fraud. He was just as ready with an explanation of Phillips's fraud. He knew how Foster "worried the pellet dodge," as he expressed it, and he was sure that Phillips was only a base imitation of Foster. And as for the slate writing—for Phillips had given me an exhibition of that—why it was perfectly simple; the slates were changed by sleight of hand. No! Then Phillips had a small piece of pencil concealed between his finger nail and the finger with which he wrote. Impossible! Well, there were a variety of ways in which the trick might be performed, but it was probably in one of these two, and if I had been familiar with magic I should have detected it; but, of course, I couldn't be expected to know how a sleight of hand performer does his work, and it was no wonder, perhaps that I should be dazed at what to the magician is in the very alphabet of his profession. My friend would go with me to Phillips, and I should see how the imposture would be put to shame.

So one afternoon we called upon the medium. As before, there was no preliminary conversation. My experience had been published, however, and it was quite possible for the medium to have traced us both and learned somewhat of our associations; but that is unimportant. The exhibition was not so remarkable in every respect as on the occasion of my visit alone; but when we came away my friend had no explanation for what he had seen. He abandoned the sleight of hand theory, and I was convinced again of the unsoundness of the little piece of pencil under the finger nail theory.

How could my friend maintain the sleight of hand theory when he himself put two slates, on which he saw there was no writing, face to face, and held them in position with his own hand, and yet found intelligible writing on the inside surface of one of them when he took them apart? True, they were under the table for a time, and the medium held them together, but every effort to spell out the name of the place was ineffectual. I had no better luck in an attempt to get the surname of my former school mate, although the first name was given. I asked at how many places we went to school together and the answer was: "Two." I remembered one school mate bearing that name who had been at school with me in two different villages, and asked why we had gone to school in two places. The answer was, "Because the school house burned down." That was true. I then asked my spirit school mate the cause and the time of her death, for I had supposed she was still living. I did not consider my supposition to the medium, however. The reply to that question was that she had died about a year before of a peculiar throat disease which she tried to describe or name but could not.

There was enough in this to induce me to make inquiries and I learned the fact that the school mate I had in mind, and whose first name was given by the medium, was still alive; but that her sister, having a different first name, who had also gone to school with me in two different villages and for the same reason, namely, the burning of the school house, had died about a year before of a throat disease, to his

surprise, Phillips readily assented to the test and a day was set.

In anticipation of the medium's visit I bought two cheap schoolslates, and carried them to my friend's room. When Phillips arrived, a small sewing table, part of the furniture of the room, was placed in the middle of the floor. Several experiments were tried, but I shall relate only one. Phillips called for the slates, which handed to him in the original wrapping paper in which they came to me. He unwrapped them in my presence, and carrying them to the wash basin, washed them with a sponge. Here was the opportunity—the only opportunity—for trickery, if there was trickery. My friend has always insisted that, on pretense of washing the slates, the medium might have written on them with some kind of magical pencil the writing from which would develop under certain conditions, on the principle of invisible ink. But the explanation does not explain what followed, and was never really satisfactory to my friend.

When the slates were washed, Phillips laid them upon a sofa directly opposite to me, and I kept my eyes upon them. He waited until they were dried, and then taking them up was about to wrap them in paper; but I stopped him to make a re-examination of the slates, which I did with care. There was not a scratch on either side of either of them. Having satisfied myself and my friend of that, I put the slates together face to face and laid them upon the paper which was spread upon the table, whereupon Phillips, without touching the slates, rolled the paper around them and handed the package to me. While I held it he pretended that the spirits instructed us to put it into a drawer of the table. The key of the drawer being furnished by my friend, I unlocked it and placing the package inside, locked the drawer again. I am as positive as that I now write, that when those slates were placed in that drawer there was no writing upon them.

It must have been fifteen minutes before the drawer was again unlocked. Meantime we conversed about a variety of subjects; but our conversation turned chiefly upon the fact that so-called spirit communications through Christian mediums spoke frequently of Jesus as the Christ, and the question was asked whether there were any Jewish mediums, the suggestion being that if an orthodox Jew, acting as a medium, should receive similar communications it might be an argument against certain theories respecting spiritualism. The conversation has no bearing of importance except that the word Christ was several times repeated, and at its close I said: "Well, I do not care what may be written; if it is a single intelligible sentence on the slates when we take them out, I shall be satisfied that some force which we do not understand has produced the result," or words to that effect. Let it be remembered that the conversation occurred while the slates were under lock and key, and no such conversation had preceded them in the drawer.

Phillips told me to unlock the drawer. I did so. I took out the package. I unwrapped it. Phillips did not touch the package or the slates. I took them apart myself and found written in plain characters on the face of one of them, this letter:

What difference does it make what we write? Is it not sufficient proof of spirit power that we write at all?

Yours, CHRIST.

It may be an important fact that Phillips was addicted to the habit of chewing chalk. At frequent intervals during his visit he would take a chalk crayon from his pocket and bite off a small piece, which he would chew for a while, and then repeat the operation. I can surmise a close connection between slate writing and the chalk chewing habit in slate writing medium; but I can only surmise.

It is frequently said that sleight of hand performers will repeat the "tests" of any medium if they have an opportunity to observe them. An opportunity to do this with the "test" I have just described was offered to Herman in my presence. When it was described to him he promptly offered to do it, if he could see it done. But when he was told that he must do it in my friend's room and with his table and slates, Herman just as promptly replied: "No; in my room and with my table and slate."

On one occasion I visited a table tipping medium with two friends, both skeptics. We agreed that in no way would we let the medium discover our identity. It was well that we had taken the precaution, for the pump was put in operation and kept in operation while we were there. But the well was dry—nothing was learned by the medium, and in consequence, perhaps, the sitting was very unsatisfactory.

A spirit, however, that of a school mate of fifteen years before, did move the medium to communicate with me. I asked where we went to school together, but every effort to spell out the name of the place was ineffectual. I had no better luck in an attempt to get the surname of my former school mate, although the first name was given. I asked at how many places we went to school together and the answer was: "Two." I remembered one school mate bearing that name who had been at school with me in two different villages, and asked why we had gone to school in two places. The answer was, "Because the school house burned down."

That was true. I then asked my spirit school mate the cause and the time of her death, for I had supposed she was still living. I did not consider my supposition to the medium, however. The reply to that question was that she had died about a year before of a peculiar throat disease which she tried to describe or name but could not.

There was enough in this to induce me to make inquiries and I learned the fact that the school mate I had in mind, and whose first name was given by the medium, was still alive; but that her sister, having a different first name, who had also gone to school with me in two different villages and for the same reason, namely, the burning of the school house, had died about a year before of a throat disease, to his

character of which the village doctor did not understand.

This medium had a friend, a young man, whom he invited into the circle with us. He had nothing to say and seemed to take no interest in what was going on. I noticed that whenever the table tipped it tipped in his direction. This had been repeated often enough to confirm my suspicions. I watched my opportunity, and when the table was in the midst of an affirmative tip—three times—I bore heavily on my side of the table, and had the satisfaction of seeing the hand of the medium's friend slip. That particular tip was not completed. It was plain enough that the friend did the tipping and the medium was a fraud.

But the most convincing evidence that spirit phenomena are probably due to some unknown force is not the exhibitions of professional mediums, who may deceive, who frequently have excellent opportunities for deception, and who certainly have what criminal lawyers call "motive," but the experiments of personal friends in whose honor one has confidence, and who are neither professional mediums nor spiritualists. In such experiments I have had a little experience, though not much.

I recall some of these exhibited in a private house among four or five mutual friends, none of them spiritualists, by a man whose name is a voucher to all who know him for his honor and veracity. The table used was a light one, which he might have tipped without apparent exertion. But he could not have moved it around the room by the mere touch of his finger, and if he could, his assurance that he did not, and that he was ignorant of the cause of its movements, would have been sufficient.

The party was around the table for some minutes with hands flat upon it. Pretty soon it began to tip. Then it answered questions yes or no by single or triple tips. Then it spelled out words and sentences by tipping at the call of the alphabet. These sentences were just as senseless as any "spirit" communication, but they were sentences. After a while, when the table got warmed up to its work, it would walk around the room, dance, climb up into the lap of one or another of the persons present, describe figures on the floor, and so on. If the "medium" (I must call him for want of a better term) took his hand off, the table stopped; but if he put so much as the tip of his finger upon it, it would move, tip, dance and climb as before.

Of these experiments I am driven to the alternative of believing that they proved some unknown and possibly undeveloped force, or that a man who had no motive, and but little opportunity for deception, and whose reputation for truthfulness in the most trivial matters and minute particulars is so universal among his acquaintances that they would not believe him capable of even a trick that involved deceit, is a conscientious liar. I prefer to believe that what he said was true. He said that while he did not attribute the phenomena to any supernatural cause, he was wholly ignorant of what the cause was, and did not himself consciously produce any of the effects we had witnessed. LOUIS F. POST.

The Prosperity Plan for Protection.

The St. Paul Labor Echo prints the following extract from an editorial in the Pioneer Press of that city:

Whatever may be said of the theoretical injustice of the inequalities and absurdities of a protective tariff, the magnificent prosperity of the country during the past twenty-five years, its enormous advance in wealth, and in the wide diffusion of the means of comfortable and happy subsistence among the masses of the people, is a fact which outweighs the most plausible of theories in the judgment of the American people.

And in this juxtaposition it prints the following item from the local page of the very same issue of the Pioneer Press:

Out late the police have been keeping pretty close watch of the legions of street beggars who have been so indefatigable in their attentions to the benevolent passers by during the past winter. At times one has to verify run the gauntlet in a journey of a few blocks. All those caught soliciting aid to tide them over the present financial depression are summarily hustled off to the lockup, and on the next day wend their way over the prairie to the western states.

The Labor Echo goes on to make savage comments upon protectionism; but comments are really unnecessary.

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New York Tribune.

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